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THE PHILIPPINE JOURNAL OF SCIENCE

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THE MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND BELIEFS OF THE PHILIPPINE INHABITANTS OF LONG AGO; BEING CHAPTERS OF "A LATE 16TH CENTURY MANILA MANUSCRIPT", TRANSCRIBED, TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED.

By CARLOS QUIRINO and MAURO GARCIA

SIXTEEN PLATES

INTRODUCTION

Two very important books were brought to light some eleven years ago as an aftermath of the last World War: the Doctrina Christiana [1] of 1593, the first book printed in the Philippines; and the Boxer codex [2] of 1590, which contains the first illustrations of Filipinos at the time of the Spanish contact in the sixteenth century.

With the discovery of the Doctrina, the supposition of its existence made by scholars led by Wenceslao E. Retana [3] fifty years ago became a reality. Luigi Banzi, a book collector in Bologna, Italy, found the book in the possession of a family fleeing from the allied bombings during the war; the book had surprisingly survived fire and shrapnel. Banzi sold the price-

[1] Full title: Doctrina Chriftiana en/Lengua Española y Tagala Cor-/regida por los Religiosos de las Ordenes. Impreffa con licencia en/S. Gabriel de la Orden de S. Domingo./En Manila 1593. For a detailed description and facsimile reproduction of this book, see: Wolf, Edwin, III. Doctrina Christiana; The First Book Printed in the Philippines . . . Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, 1947. (4), 50, (80)p. See also Sanz, Carlos, Primitivas Relaciones de España con Asia y Oceania (Madrid, 1958).

[2] Named after the present owner of the MS., Prof. C.R. Boxer, of King's College, University of London, by Dr. Paul S. Lietz of Loyola University. See Lietz, Paul S., ed., Calendar of Philippine Documents in the Ayer Collection of the Newberry Library (Chicago, 1956) 3–4.

[3] In his Origenes de la Imprenta Filipina (Madrid, 1911) 31–37.

less volume to a Parisian book dealer who in turn sold it to Lessing J. Rosenwald, an American millionaire and bibliophile, who donated it to the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C.[4]

The Boxer codex was recovered under somewhat similar circumstances. Belonging to Lord Ilchester the manuscript came to light after Holland House, where his collection was kept, received a direct hit during the German bombing of London in 1942. The collection—what remained of it—was put up for auction in 1947, and the document was acquired by Professor C. R. Boxer[5] of the University of London. The codex bears no title-page, which was probably removed by an unknown and later hand, so that its original author can hardly be ascertained.

The codex begins with a description of the natives in the Ladrones (now Marianas). A double-spread painting of the inhabitants of the islands follows an oblong folding-leaf drawing of a ship anchored off one of them surrounded by native canoes. In describing the inhabitants, the author comments "on the herculean proportions of the naked islanders, describes the speed attained by their outrigger canoes, and explains how they bartered fish, fruit and water for bits of iron from the sailors of the passing Spanish ship."[6] He notes how "so keenly did the islanders value metal that, when he held out his sword as if to barter it, the occupants of all the canoes left chaffering with the other passengers and crew and paddled their craft toward him, offering everything which they had in exchange."[7]

The importance of this unique manuscript lies not only in the description and historical allusions to the various countries and regions covered, but in the faithful reproductions of the peoples and their costumes. Of the 75 colored drawings of inhabitants of the Philippines, Moluccas, Java, Siam, China and Japan, together with a description of these places included in the 307-page manuscript, 15 deal with Filipinos. Hitherto, pictures of Filipinos were made in Europe by artists from descriptions of travelers and chroniclers; as a result, such drawings

[4] See: Rare PI 'Doctrina Christiana' now in Congress library. In Evening News (March 25, 1947), quoting a A.P. news dispatch from Washington, D.C. of this date.

[5] Regarding the provenience, and for a detailed description, of the document, see his: "A late sixteenth century Manila MS.", Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London (April, 1950) 37–49.

[6] Boxer, C.R., op. cit., 38.

[7] Ibid.

bore only a faint resemblance to the originals. But in this codex, Tagalogs, Bisayans, Zambals, Cagayanos and Negritos are depicted in vivid colors with remarkable fidelity.

The Cagayanos are the first ethnic group to be included in the Philippine portions of the codex. Judging from the man and woman shown in Plates 1 and 2, the early Spaniards considered the Ibanags as the original inhabitants of that fertile valley. The Negrillos or Negritos came next, but only in passing. Plate 3 shows the use of *palma brava* for their bow and their general appearance, which has not changed after nearly four centuries of contact with Western civilization.

Plates 4 to 6, representing the early Zambal tribe, are highly interesting. Plate 6 shows a newly killed water buffalo with the stomach slit open and one native reading the augury from the fresh entrails. This was a common practice not only in the Philippines at that time but all over Malaya. The bow is noticeably different from that used by the Negritos, and the two-edged short sword, unlike those appearing in the other plates.

Dr. Antonio de Morga, lieutenant governor-general of the Philippines, who arrived in Manila in 1595, describes the three groups above as follows:

"The province of Cagayan is inhabited by natives of the same complexion as the others of the island (of Luzon) although they are better built, and more valiant and warlike than the others. They wear their hair long and hanging down the back . . ." [8]

"In various parts of this island of Luzon are found a number of natives, black in color. Both men and women have woolly hair, and their stature is not very great, although they are strong and robust. These people are barbarians, and have but little capacity. They possess no fixed houses or settlements, but wander in bands and hordes through the mountains and rough country, changing from one site to another according to the season. They support themselves in certain clearings, and by planting rice, which they do temporarily, and by means of the game that they bring down with their bows, in the use of which they are very skilful and certain. They live also on honey from the mountains, and roots produced by the ground.

[8] See his Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas (Mexico, 1609). English translation in Blair and Robertson, The Philippine Islands 16 (Cleveland, 1904) 75.

They are a harbarous people, in whom one cannot place confidence . . ." [9]

"In a province called Zambales, they wear the head shaved from the middle forwards. On the skull they have a huge lock of loose hair . . ." [10]

Dr. Jose Rizal, in his annotations to Morga's book, believes that this manner of headdress, and the long robe of the Bisayans, have an analogy with the Japanese coiffure and kimono.[11] Could it have been the influence of pre-Spanish Japanese settlers in those two regions of the archipelago?

The major portion of the manuscript deals with the descriptions and illustrations of Brunei in North Borneo, Malacca-Achin (Sumatra), Moluccas, New Guinea, Annam, Formosa, Cambodia, Japan, and China. These descriptions, as Professor Boxer has pointed out, are not original; that on China, for example, was based from Fr. Martin de Rada's narrative [12] which was also used by Fr. Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza in his famous Historia which was first published in Rome in 1585 and which went into several editions in various European languages as the "best-seller" of that generation.[13]

Except for those depicting the Chinese, the drawings of the inhabitants of the neighboring countries are odd-looking, to say the least, if not outright fantastic—proving that the artist did not actually visit those places mentioned in the text, but drew them from imagination.

Who was the artist of this codex? In the words of Professor Boxer, notwithstanding "the mixture of Eastern and Western influence in the colored drawings and their decorative borders . . . the illustrations in all probability are the work of a Chinese artist. At any rate, the features of the persons

[9] Ibid., 74.

[10] Ibid., 77.

[11] Ibid. Cf. Rizal's edition of Morga's Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas (Paris, 1890) 261.

[12] For text of this narrative, see: San Agustin, Gaspar de, O.E.S.A., Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas (Madrid, 1698) 313–323; English translation in C. R. Boxer, ed., South China in the Sixteenth Century (London, 1953) 243–310.

[13] Boxer, C.R. South China in the Sixteenth Century (London, 1953) xvii. For the best bibliographical survey of Gonzalez de Mendoza's book, see Wagner, H.R., Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza, Historia de las Cosas Mas Notables, Ritos y Costumbres del Gran Reyno de la China . . . Reprinted from The Spanish Southwest (Berkeley, 1924.) Cf. Sanz, Carlos, op. cit., 385–397.

portrayed are mostly of a Mongolian cast, the painter seems to be more at home with his Chinese than with his other subjects, whilst the ideographs are too well written to be the work of one of the very few friars or Jesuits who were capable of wielding a Chinese brush in 1590. The use of Chinese paper, ink and paints (of the Ming period), also suggests a Chinese artist; although this is not conclusive, as European materials were so expensive at Manila that Chinese supplies were often used instead. We know from the correspondence of the first Bishop of Manila (Fr. Domingo de Salazar) that in 1590 there were a number of Chinese artists who painted devotional pictures for the local churches and monasteries after the European manner . . .

"The Chinese influence in the coloured drawings of this MS.," Professor Boxer continues, "is clearly tempered by the use of several Western forms. The decorated border of foxes, birds, bees, and flowers, are reminiscent of the marginal borders designed by the celebrated Parisian artist-printer, Geoffrey Tory (who died in 1533) for his printed Book of Hours, as Mr. Lessing J. Rosenwald of Philadelphia first pointed out to me. Incidentally, the last ten leaves of the illustrations have an entirely different border of an arabesque type suggestive of Persian or Indian influence." [14]

As to who was the original owner, editor, or compiler of the manuscript, Professor Boxer thinks that this is a more difficult question to answer. "One thing is certain. He must have been a rich or influential man, as nobody else could have afforded to pay the high prices involved in such a lavish use of gold leaf in the illustrations and chapter headings. The first reaction is that the codex was probably executed for one of the higher clergy or the wealthier monasteries, since normally it was only the friars and the Jesuits who took a cultured or intelligent interest in the native life around them." [15]

He was not only "a rich or influential man," but Professor Boxer is "inclined to think that the original compiler was a layman. In the first place, there is a remarkable absence of any trace of missionary zeal, which it would have been very difficult for a friar or a priest to avoid displaying, if only in passing. The compiler has, of course, utilized ecclesiastical

[14] Boxer, C.R. "A late sixteenth century Manila MS.," 45.
[15] Ibid., 47.

accounts where these were the best available, such as that of Fray Rada for China, and Bishop Gaio's report on Sumatra and Malaya. But he does not display the slightest interest in missionary activity *per se*, and his idea seems to have been to get as purely objective accounts as possible. He must also have been in the good graces of the Holy Office, to have been able to copy direct from such unedifying books as those of the 'heathen Chinee'." [16]

One direct clue to the identity of the possible owner of the manuscript is a reference to the text on folios 3 to 4 disclosing a voyage of the Manila Galleon from Mexico to the Philippines in 1590. "In point of fact, two ships left Acapulco for Manila, on 1st March, 1590, with the new Governor, Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas, and his son, Don Luis." [17] Of the two ships, the *Capitana* and the *Almiranta*, only the former reached Manila on May 31, the latter being wrecked off Marinduque Island. It is, therefore, probable that this is the vessel shown anchored off one of the Ladrones in the illustration on folio 3 of the manuscript.

Two other persons on that Manila-bound galleon could have been the owner: Luis Pérez Dasmariñas, who succeeded to the governorship upon the death of his father in 1593; and the Jesuit chronicler, Pedro Chirino, whose well-known Relacion was printed in Rome in 1604, and who was a fellow-passenger on his first trip to the islands. In the words of Professor Boxer, however: "When we recall that this MS. begins with things seen from a Manila-bound galleon off the Ladrones in 1590, and that Governor Dasmariñas came with his son that year, it is surely not too far-fetched to suggest that perhaps one of these two individuals was the original owner." [18]

That the elder Dasmariñas could have been the person in authority who ordered its compilation and was the original owner of the MS. appears to be certain. Documents exist requiring governors-general of Spanish colonies to prepare a written record of the territories they governed; through such means, the King and other high officials in Madrid could get a reliable idea of their far-flung overseas possessions.

[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid., 37
[18] Ibid., 48

Who was Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas?[19]

Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas, an experienced vassal of the Spanish crown, had been a corregidor or magistrate of the towns of Murcia and Cartagena. Because of some dispute, he had been cooling his heels in the anteroom of Philip II when Father Alonzo Sanchez, an influential Jesuit then on a special mission to Madrid to report on conditions in the archipelago, happened to meet him. Pérez Dasmariñas was the province-mate (Galicia) of the very important president of the Supreme Council of the Indies, Bishop Antonio de Pazos, who naturally strongly recommended his friend and fellow-Gallegan for the overseas post. In no time at all, King Philip secretly appointed the former *corregidor* his representative in the Philippines, advanced him ten thousand ducats for expenses and, to give his person greater prestige, made him Knight of the Order of St. James (Santiago).

The new governor, who must have been in his fifties, lost no time in sailing for his new job. He left the port of Sanlucar for Veracruz, Mexico, in 1589, accompanied by his entire family and eldest son, Luis. The latter, although only in his twenties, had seen military service in Flanders and was to become the right-hand man of the new governor general once they reached the islands. They left Acapulco in Mexico on March 1, 1590, and did not reach Manila until June 1, although some accounts date their arrival on May 31, because of failure to add a lost day in crossing the international dateline. It had taken them more than a year to cover the distance from Sanlucar to Manila, halfway around the world.

What kind of a man was Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas?

In the opinion of Wenceslao E. Retana, historian and authority on the Spanish epoch in the Philippines: "He was a good governor. Despite the fact that he was somewhat old, he displayed an activity and energy in many things, surprising to one of his age. He reorganized the militia, founded in his time the environs of Manila; fortified well the plaza or center, constructed piers and the walls of the city, built markets and hospitals, founded the Colegio de Santa Potenciana, etc."

Despite the fact that he owed his appointment to a priest, Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas refused to knuckle to the demands

[19] For a brief biographical notice of Gomez Perez Dasmariñas, see W.E. Retana in his edition of Antonio de Morga's Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas (Madrid, 1909) 559–560.

of the friars in Manila, to the extent of being excommunicated for not allowing the Dominicans to go to Spain for an audience with King Philip II. The doughty governor probably felt that the friars could sabotage him if they ever reached Madrid with their complaints.

His desire to seize the Moluccas from the Portuguese led to his death on October 25, 1593. He had outfitted a military expedition for that place, using Chinese rowers under forced labor in his flagship; at midnight, just off the Cavite coast, the Chinese crew mutinied and murdered most of the Spaniards —including the governor general—who were caught by surprise. Fray Diego Aduarte, a contemporary chronicler, and Fray Juan de la Concepcion have written that a Spanish woman of Manila "had a vision of the governor with his head cut open and bathed in blood"; and that a holy image drawn on the wall above the portal of St. Augustine church in Intramuros fell that night—an ominous portent "which could have been a mere accident."

At that particular moment, his son, Luis, was in the Bisayas where he had gone to raise troops for his father's expedition. The question of a successor to the murdered official immediately arose. The wily Gómez had shown to sundry officials an authorization from the King allowing him to name his successor and had promised to three or four of the more ambitious personages his accolade; but when the official paper was found and later read, it named his son as *ad interim* governor. Luis [20] was governor until July of 1596, or for a period of about two years and a half, until the arrival of Governor-General Francisco Tello from Spain.

Luis Pérez Dasmariñas must have inherited the codex as a prized possession from his father. Made an encomendero of Binondo, a suburb north of the walled city of Manila (to recoup his financial losses as a result of the abortive expedition to conquer Cambodia in 1598–99), he met his death there during the insurrection of the Chinese in October of 1603, exactly ten years after the demise of his father. In this uprising, the first and most serious staged by the Sangleys or Chinese in the vicinity of Manila, Dasmariñas fought valiantly, but succumbed to superior numbers and his head was borne aloft

[20] For his brief biographical sketch, see Retana, op. cit., 560.

on a pike by the Sangleys to frighten the Spaniards in the walled city.[21]

What happened to the codex after Luis Pérez Dasmariñas' death is open to conjecture. Perhaps his heirs kept it; or, "It might easily have been picked up during the sack of Manila by Draper's expeditionary force in 1762. Alternatively, it might have been sent to Spain at any date after 1590, and purchased there for (or by) the third Lord Holland who was a keen collector of Spanish books and works of art." [22]

A study of the parts dealing with the Philippines, leads to the conclusion that the text was prepared or dictated by Luis Pérez Dasmariñas—at least, insofar as the pages on the Marianas, the Philippines and perhaps Cambodia are concerned. Although the texts are unsigned and undated, Professor Boxer believes "they bear a strong resemblance to similar accounts by Captain Miguel de Loarca (circa 1582) and Fr. Juan de Plasencia, O.F.M. (1589), which were eventually printed in whole or in part." He further states: "This MS. account seems to be a corrected and expanded version of Loarca's preliminary report, and was probably drawn up a decade later." [23]

Although the Philippine portions have many points of resemblance with that of Loarca [24] and Plasencia,[25] both of which, of course, could have been consulted or read by the author, they are not a copy thereof. Certain details not mentioned by either Loarca or Plasencia appear in the MS. Furthermore, Luis, during the incumbency of his father, traveled through the Mountain Province and Cagayan Valley of Luzon Island; and incorporated his description in the folios appearing in his codex. Neither Loarca nor Plasencia dealt with this region. He also spent several months in the Bisayan Islands, before and after his father's death, and was there-

[21] Ibid.

[22] Boxer, C.R. "A late sixteenth century Manila MS.", 49.

[23] Ibid., 39

[24] Relacion de las Islas Filipinas. Arevalo, 1582. See Spanish text and its English translation in Blair and Robertson, The Philippine Islands 5 (Cleveland, 1906) 34–187.

[25] Costumbres de los Tagalos. Nagcarlang, 1589. For Spanish text, see: Sta. Ines, Francisco, Cronica de la Provincia de San Gregorio Magno de Religiosos Descalzos de N.P. San Francisco en las Islas Filipinas, China, Japon, etc., 2 (Manila, 1892) 592–603, App. 3; English translation in Blair and Robertson, op. cit., 7 (Cleveland, 1906) 173–196.

fore able to make firsthand observations of the customs and dresses of the inhabitants.

True enough, these descriptions were not written with the grammatical polish, the neat turn of phraseology, that Chirino, Aduarte, and other more erudite chroniclers used. In style, in the looseness of grammar and the abuse of the conjunction "Y" (and), this codex belongs to the same school of authorship as that of two other soldiers: Loarca and Diego Lope Povedano.[26] All three tend to be superficial in their observations—but what could any one expect of a soldier, a conquistador and *encomendero* more versed with the sword than with a pen?

In running the Spanish transcript, we have taken the liberty of capitalizing some proper nouns and adding punctuations wherever necessary for the sake of clarity; we have preserved, however, the archaic language, the erroneous conjunction of words and even the misspellings of the text. Any person conversant with modern Spanish can easily deduce the meaning.—C.Q.

The document that we are presenting in the following forms part, as stated above, of a manuscript which is now in the possession of Professor C.R. Boxer of King's College, University of London. The entire manuscript, which is described in full by the owner in his article in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,[27] consists of a total of 307 folios or leaves, of which 60 folios or leaves form the portion having to do with the Philippines.[28] In his article, Professor Boxer not only describes the entire manuscript in detail, but reveals where he obtained it. Without stating the price[29] he paid for it, he says that he acquired the rare document from Hodgson's[30] in whose sale catalogue for July 10, 1947, it was listed as item No. 60.

[26] For information regarding Povedano, see: The Robertson Text and Translation of the Povedano Manuscript of 1572. In University of Chicago, Dept. of Anthrop., Philip. Studies Prog., Transcript No. 2 (Chicago, 1954) (5), viii, 63p. Mimeog.

[27] See supra, note 5.

[28] For collation of MS. see Appendix.

[29] Professor Boxer personally told C. Quirino who visited him in London recently and saw the original MS. that he paid £70 for the manuscript.

[30] Well-known auctioneers of rare books and manuscripts with present address at 115 Chancery Lane, London, W.C. 2.

It was undoubtedly from the article of Professor Boxer that the ever alert authorities of the Ayer Collection at the Newberry Library, Chicago, must have learned of the existence of the document. This famous collection now owns photostatic reproduction of the Philippine portion, which we assume have been acquired from Professor Boxer.

In 1957, we were going over its Calendar of Philippine Documents,[31] issued the year previous, when in running through entries 8 to 12, listing the different sections of the Philippine material from the Boxer codex,[32] our attention was attracted to a reference to the article of Professor Boxer already mentioned above. With the citation as a cue, we wrote Luzac and Co. in London, which handles the sale of the publications [33] of the Royal Asiatic Society, to obtain for us a copy of the article of Professor Boxer. On receipt of the article and convinced of the importance of the manuscript, particularly of the Philippine portion, Carlos Quirino wrote Professor Boxer to inquire about the document in his possession. An exchange of correspondence between Mr. Quirino and Professor Boxer resulted in the former's acquiring through the Newberry Library a microfilm of the Philippine portion of the codex. Mr. Quirino not only acquired a microfilm, but was given the permission to publish the material.[34]

As stated above, the manuscript formerly belonged to Lord Ilchester, whose collection was kept at Holland House in London. After Holland House was destroyed by German bombs in 1942, what remained of the collection was put up for auction in 1947, and Professor Boxer, as already mentioned, acquired the rare manuscript.

It would be of interest to know something about the third Lord Holland who preceded Professor Boxer in the ownership of the codex. Lord Holland, born Henry Richard Vassall (1773–1840), traced his lineage to Sir Stephen Fox (1627–

[31] See Lietz, Paul S., ed., Calendar of Philippine Documents in the Ayer collection of the Newberry Library (Chicago, 1956) 3–4, for entries referring to Philippine portions of the codex.

[32] This is following identification of the manuscript by Dr. Lietz in his Calendar, being in accordance with accepted practice to name or call rare documents after their actual owner or location.

[33] The inadequacy of local libraries was once more brought to the fore when an inquiry revealed that not one of these has received this important publication.

[34] See Philippine Booklovers Society Newsletter no. 1 (Jan. 1959) 3.

1716). Sir Stephen, by his second marriage with Christian Hopes, had two sons, Stephen Fox (1704–1776), who became the first earl of Ilchester, and Henry Fox (1705–1774), who became the first baron Holland. The second baron Holland, son of the first, was Stephen Fox (?) whose son, Henry Richard, became the third baron Holland. The fourth and last baron Holland, who died in 1859, was Henry Edward, the second son of Henry Richard.[35] It must have been as a result of the death of the last baron Holland that the Fox family, which still holds the earldom of Ilchester, obtained possession of the manuscript.

How the manuscript found its way to England has not been ascertained definitely. As intimated above, the British occupation of Manila in 1762 may have something to do with its transference there, or it might have been sent to Spain "and purchased there for (or by) the third Lord Holland who was a keen collector of Spanish books and works of art." [36]

Following the latest date, 1590, mentioned directly and by inference, in the codex, Professor Boxer has been inclined to assign its compilation toward the end of the 16th century.[37] This is reflected in the title he has assigned to his article. We have adopted his title in quotations in our own title to the present work to show that we do not entirely subscribe to his view, as the manuscript, as will be shown below, although probably started toward the end of the 16th century, could have been finished in the beginning of the 17th.

As to who could have been the author of the Codex has been the subject of speculation. The theory that has been advanced above is that he could have been either Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas or his son, Don Luis. In support of this theory, reliance has been made on the fact that the document, which appears to have been compiled rather systematically, "is just the sort of handbook which could have been invaluable to a cultured and inquisitive conquistador who wanted to know something about the new worlds to conquer on the shores of the South China seas." It has also been pointed out that "only a senior government official or a high ranking ecclesiastic would have had access" to most of the documents used by him. Besides, the "remarkable absence of any trace of mis-

[35] See Encyclopedia Britannica, 9 (1946) 572, c. 1; 11 (1946) 645, c. 1.
[36] See supra, note 22.
[37] Ibid., 48.

sionary zeal" in the material can not but lead one to the conclusion that the author or compiler was a layman.[38]

It is true that both the elder and younger Dasmariñas easily answer these descriptions and either one could have been the author or compiler. When we consider the fact, however, that other individuals could also meet these requirements, the possibility that somebody else could have been the author cannot be easily brushed aside. In point of fact, retracing the trip made by Governor Dasmariñas from Acapulco in Mexico, we find that two other persons, besides his son, Luis, were on board the *Capitana* that landed him in Cavite in June, 1590. These two persons were Pedro Chirino and Antonio de Padua, also known as Antonio de la Llave. Both Chirino and Padua came as important individuals, or soon after became such, so that as persons of culture and influence in their respective fields they were in a position to compile the book.

Of the two, Pedro Chirino has been mentioned above. He is well known as the author of his famous Relacion which, as stated before, was printed in Rome in 1604. A Jesuit, Chirino came as a member of the Philippine mission of the Society, and it was while he worked among the Tagalogs and the Bisayans that he came in close contact with the groups, enabling him to write about them in his book. He served as a superior of the Jesuit colleges at Manila and Cebu and ultimately became a procurator of the mission, making him a man of influence in the community. But as a missionary at heart whose zeal is unmistakable, as manifested in his Relacion, Chirino is easily eliminated as the author of the manuscript in question.

The other important individual who also arrived with Governor Dasmariñas in 1590 was Antonio de Padua or de la Llave. Unlike Chirino, who was a priest, but like Dasmariñas, Padua came as a layman. In fact he was a soldier of fortune, having served in Mexico as such before coming over to the Philippines. Recalling that in the codex there is a reference to the fact that the author bore a sword which attracted the attention of the islanders in the Marianas which they passed on the way to Manila, we are inclined to believe that this sword-bearing passenger could have been Padua. A soldier, he soon became a priest, taking the habit on March 17, 1591, professing in the province of San Gregorio Magno on March

[38] See ibid., passim, for all direct quotations in this paragraph.

19, 1592, and changing his name from Gonzalo to Antonio. Because he came as a layman and as he was not prepared for his work, Padua had to study in the Franciscan convent in Manila before becoming a missionary in the village of San Miguel de Guilinguiling in 1602, and later in the villages of Paete, Santa Cruz, Siniloan, Lilio, and Pila. Undoubtedly, it was his missionary work that brought him in close contact with his flock.

Antonio de Padua did not stay long as a small-town missionary. Like the Jesuit Chirino, he became a ranking official of his province, served as a definitor in 1634–1635, a commissary-visitor in 1637, and again a definitor in 1639.[39] Thus the soldier-turned-priest rose to become a man of influence and, as a man of culture, he showed keen interest in the native life around him. Like Chirino for the Jesuits, he was the first chronicler of his province and wrote the annals of San Gregorio Magno from its founding in the Philippines in 1577 to the year 1644. He is also known to have authored the life of Sor Geronima de la Asuncion, foundress of the convent of Santa Clara in Manila.[40] Unfortunately, none of his works was ever published, and because of this we have no way of ascertaining how his Cronica compares with similar works on the other orders. What we know, however, is that, as witness those of Juan de Medina,[41] the Augustinian, of Chirino,[42] Colin [43] and Delgado,[44] the Jesuits, of Santa Ines [45] and San Antonio,[46] the Franciscans, all their works not only record the history of their orders, but include descriptions of the peoples and their customs. That Padua could not have failed to do the same is obvious, considering the fact that he had even inserted Plasencia's study of the customary laws of the Tagalogs in his own work.[47]

[39] See Huerta, Felix de, Estado, 452, 453.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Historia de los Sucesos de la Orden de N. Gran P. S. Agustin de estas Islas Filipinas (Manila, 1892).

[42] Op. cit.

[43] Labor Evangelica (Madrid, 1663).

[44] Historia General Sacro-profana (Manila, 1892).

[45] Cronica de la Provincia de San Gregorio Magno (Manila, 1892).

[46] Cronicas de la Apostolica Provincia de Religiosos Descalzos de N.S.P.S. Francisco (Sampaloc, 1738–44) 3 vols.

[47] See Robertson, J.A., Bibliography of the Philippine Islands (Cleveland, 1908) 107.

On the basis of evidence available, we are also of the opinion that the compiler of the Boxer codex was a man of consequence in Manila, possessed a cultured outlook of the natives, and exercised considerable influence; otherwise he could not have prepared the codex. Since Padua had all these qualifications, it is not unlikely that he had something to do with the manuscript. It is true that the document in question lacks the "missionary zeal" often found in other contemporary works. But then Padua was, before becoming a priest and missionary in 1592, a soldier of fortune and not an ecclesiastic.

That the entire manuscript could not have been compiled except by "a senior government official or a high-ranking ecclesiastic," because of the wide variety of sources made use of, has been mentioned. We do not think that Loarca's report of 1582 could not have been accessible to others, much less to Padua who had proven his mettle as the first historian of his order. The fact is that he showed that he had access to this and other similar documents by inserting Plasencia's work in his Cronica. As to Bishop Gaio's report, Miguel Roxo de Brito's account, and Martin de Rada's relation, it is highly probable these also could have been extant at Padua's time. In the case of Rada's, at least, this we know for sure, since even Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza who was never in the Philippines was able to use this work in writing his famous Historia.[48]

It has been pointed out that the inclusion of the section on Cagayan in the Philippine portions is an argument in favor of its ascription to Luis Dasmariñas. It is true Don Luis made an expedition to the region in 1591—the latest date mentioned in the manuscript is 1590—at the order of his father. Records show, however, that not one but four expeditions were sent to explore and conquer the Cagayan country. The fourth expedition itself was made at the instance of the younger Dasmariñas in 1594, after he had taken over the governorship of the Islands. In the Relacion of Juan de Cuellar, the governor's secretary, we read that this was undertaken under the command of Toribio de Miranda with 84 Spanish soldiers and four Franciscan religious. This relation of Juan de Cuellar even included a description of the rich Igorot gold mines which are referred to in the manuscript.[49] Could not the Cuellar relation, or similar ones which

[48] Cf. Boxer, South China, xviii.

[49] See Retana who quotes document in part in his edition of Morga, op. cit., 415–418.

could have been also prepared by Padua's co-religious, been made available to him to enable him to cover the region without his having been there?

Juan de Cuellar, the governor's secretary, having been mentioned, it would be of interest to say a few words about this official. Like Chirino and Padua, Juan de Cuellar was in the same boat that took Dasmariñas to Manila in June, 1590. Like Padua, he formed part of the contingent of soldiers who arrived with the new governor to seek their fortunes in the colony. While Padua became a priest, Cuellar became a close confidant and secretary of Dasmariñas. As the right-hand man of the governor, he accompanied Dasmariñas in his abortive expedition already referred to which ended in the murder of this official by his Chinese crew off the coast of Cavite in October, 1593. Spared by the crew from suffering the same fate, Cuellar was landed off and left behind in the Ilokos region from where he returned to Manila.

The position of secretary to the highest official of the colony was of no mean importance, then as now. To the holder, it meant power and influence which Cuellar could have used to advantage, as is wont by anyone in his shoes. Because of his unique position, Cuellar had the same, if not better, means at his disposal to enable him to compile such work as the Boxer codex. Having all the qualifications indicated for the author of the codex, and recalling that he himself prepared a relation, showing he had a knack for such things, Cuellar could have authored the codex, if he wanted too. In fact a paleographic examination of the codex reveals that its calligraphy closely resembles that of Cuellar appearing in the two Doctrinas sent by Dasmariñas to Philip II in 1593, the only samples of his handwriting available to us for comparison.[50]

The material we are reproducing consists of four separate sections. It begins with a description of the Cagayan region and its inhabitants, followed by the customs and ceremonial usages of the Bisayans and "Moros." The Moros dealt with were in reality the Tagalogs whom Loarca and Plasencia also referred to as such in their works. This shows that the un-

[50] The Doctrina Cristiana en Lengua Española y Tagala and the Tratado del Verdadero Dios y de la Iglesia Catolica. See Sanz, op. cit., where the two books are reproduced in facsimile. Cuellar's "tasacion" on each book in his handwriting with his signature and rubric is found on page 467 and 490, respectively.

known author, like these two, never reached the southern Philippines to be able to describe the real Mohammedans or Muslim Filipinos there.

We are, like Professor Boxer, of the opinion that the author's "interest seems to have been concentrated on what we would nowadays term social anthropology. He records a wealth of details about the manners and customs of the peoples concerned, but . . . carefully avoids political considerations and moral judgments." [51]

When we first received the material, the impression we had was that here was new and important data on the pre-hispanic culture of our people. Since material of this kind is scanty, it would be a distinct addition to these, and we were more than convinced in presenting not only its transcription but its translation to enable others not at home in its original language to avail of the data it contains. We have attempted, too, to annotate our translation to add to its scholarly value.

As we proceeded in working on the manuscript, however, we realized that there was not much to be excited about with the document, at least with the portion we are presenting. While the unknown author adds some new data, the bulk of his report is in reality "old stuff" which is already found in the works of other known authors. Before the end of the 16th century, Loarca's Tratado and Plasencia's Costumbres had already been prepared. Morga's Sucesos, written in 1598, although published in Mexico in 1609, already circulated in manuscript in 1602, as may be gathered from Chirino's mention of it in his Relacion written that year but published two years later. In view of the parallelism or closeness as to certain details in these and other contemporary works, we cannot but suspect that either one of two things had taken place: the unknown author must have used these materials, or these authors had used his. We are inclined to support the first possibility, because of the addition of details not noted in the others. These additional details indicate that the unknown writer was either a keener observer or had spent more time with the people than his contemporaries to enable him to note the same. (In this connection Antonio de Padua resided longer than Loarca and others in the Philippines, having died in Mahayhay, Laguna, in 1645). It follows that our codex could have been compiled posterior to the works mentioned.

[51] Boxer, "Late sixteenth century Manila MS.", 48.

In annotating our translation, we have, for our documentation, depended mostly on the works of Loarca, Plasencia, Morga, Chirino, and Colin.[52] This is in line with our suspicion that there is more than meets the eye in their being the chief printed sources of historical material on our early peoples and their customs. After Loarca's and Plasencia's the originality of the rest, insofar as the information on the subject is concerned, may be doubted. Colin's data is admittedly based on Chirino's, and one would think offhand that the Boxer codex is nothing more than an expanded version of Loarca's. How true this is, and how close all these five sources compare with the codex may be seen in the following pages.

The document reproduced here, we repeat, is only a small portion of the main codex presently found in the possession of Professor Boxer. We hope that the owner will find it convenient to publish the entire codex at some future date. We wish to thank him here for his kindness in allowing us to present the material to the readers of this Journal.—M.G.

[52] These are found in English translation, either in whole or in part, in Blair, E.H. and Robertson, J.A., The Philippine Islands: 1493–1898 (Cleveland, 1903–1909) 55 vols. We have cited this source as B. and R. where said works appear as follows:

(1) Loarca, Miguel de: "Relations of the Philippines Islands." In B. and R., 5: 34–187.

(2) Plasencia, Juan de:
   a. "Customs of the Tagalogs." In B. and R., 7: 173–185.
   b. "Relations of the worship of the Tagalogs, their gods, and their burials and superstitions." In B. and R., 7; 185–196.
   c. "Instructions regarding the customs which the natives of Pampanga formerly observed in their lawsuits." In B. and R., 16: 321–329.

(3) Morga, Antonio de: Chapter 8 of his Sucesos dealing with the natives and their customs is found in B. and R., 16:69–209.

(4) Chirino, Pedro: His Relacion as translated in full is in B. and R., 12: 171–321; 13: 29–217.

(5) Colin, Francisco: Portions of his Labor Evangelica treating on the peoples of the Philippines under title "Native Races" are in B. and R., 40: 37–98.

TRANSCRIPTION

[9*a*] DISCRIPTION DE LA TIERRA DE LA PROCY[a] DE CAGAYAN/Y ESTADO DELLA TRAJE Y USO DE LOS NATURALES Y/SUS CONSTUMBRES RRIOS Y ESTEROS DELLA ES COMO SIGUE

Esta la boca del rrio que se llama tajo que es el mayor q./ ay en esta prouincia adonde esta la poblazon de los españoles/ que se llama la ciudad de segouia. Corre este dicho rrio de norte / a sur sube hasta su nacimiento mas de sesenta leguas y a/la orilla de este dicho rrio ay munchas poblacones de yndioss./Tiene munchos esteros que bienen a desaguar al dicho rrio/en los quales ay ansi mismo cantidad de yndios y ay algunos/esteros que para subir a las poblazones de los yndios estan/quatro y cinco dias subiendo en barotos por los dichos esteros./Siembran a las orillas del rrio grande y de estos esteros mun-/cha cantidad de arroz borona y camotes y autras que es su / comida y sustento. Apartados de los esteros en las montañas / agrias auitan cantidad de negros los quales se sustentan / con camotes y autras y otras frutas saluajes que tienen y/buyos que es vna yerba que toda la prouincia la estima en/ muncho y es de muncho sustento para ellos. Es toda la/ prouincia muy fertil de muchos altos serros peleaos y de/ algunos llanos y sienegas adonde en el berano siembran / muncha cantidad de arroz. Tienen su ynbierno que es dende/ primero de otubre hasta fin de hebrero. Reyna el norte / en todo este tiempo a cuya causa no se puede nauegar / la costa de esta prouincia por ser trauesia y la mar muy braua./Ay en este tiempo en el rrio munchas auenidas que por los / llanos la uenida del suele hazer daños en los arrodes y trae / munchas vezes con las auenidas los bufanos y benados / que coxe. Tienen los naturales muncho oro. Entiendese que/ay munchas minas del en las montañas y no las quieren des-/cubrir a los españoles acausa que no se las quiten. Tienen/asi mismo vnas piedras que precian muncho que se llaman/bulaganes y bahandines que son joyas que traen las mu-/geres. No se a sauido ni ellos sauen dar rrazon si la [*illegible**]/[9*b*] o donde las allan mas que todos dizen que las an heredado/de sus pasados y asi las estiman y tienen en muncho precio./Son negros y blancas. Acercos su traje y constumbre de los/hombres es traer bahaques y vnos

* This and other illegible portions in the transcription refer to the microfilm copy from the Newberry Library, Chicago, and not to the original Codex in the possession of Prof. Boxer.

sayos de manta negra an-/chos y largos hasta medio muslo. La mayor parte de los na-/turales andan en cueros y ay vn estero que se dize de lobo/que la gente del. Traen los bahaques de corteza de un arbol/curada y en la cabeça vna benda de la misma corteza y este/mismo traje tienen por luto. Toda la tierra sino estos de arriba/que es su vso hordinario y todo el tiempo que traen luto no/comen arroz ni beuen bino sino tan solamente borona ca-/motes y otras yerbas. Traen el cauello largo caydo a las espal-/das y cortado todo lo que toma la frente hasta las cienes. Traen/encima del vnas guirnaldas de yeruas olorosas. Sus armas/son lanças y pabes largo de vna braca y de ancho tres quartas./Tienen vnas armas colchadas y un bonete amanera de morrion / coloradas y vnos puñales anchos de mas de ocho dedos y de/largo palmo y medio con cabos de hebano con que de vn golpe/lleban vna cabeça. Otros vsan el arco y flechas avnque por/la mayor parte son los negrillos. Los flecheros tienen muncha/yerba que en sacando vna gota de sangre morira con muncha/breuedad sino lo rremedian con la contra yerba. Los yndios de/purrao que es cerca del nacimiento de este rrio tajo vsan/los yndios de alli las armas de pellejos de bufano curado que / son fuertes y duras de pasar que tienen coseletes y morriones/y pabesas anchas y largos. Estos tienen para sus guerras. Esta prouincia es gente que tienen guerras vnos lugares/con otros y no toman a bida a ninguno aunque sea muger/o niños sino les cortan las caueças. Tienen en cada pueblo/vn principal a quien obedecen y rrespectan y estos por la mayor/parte son a yndios balientes que por sus echos los an señoreado [10*a*] y los obedecen. Sus ynclinaciones es procurar de quitarse / el oro el vno a el otro y quitar vna cabeça gente muy traydora/y cruel. Todas sus fiestas son borracheras qualquiera que so-/lem san es bebiendo hasta que se enborrachan y despues/lo estan suelen armar pendencias entre ellos hasta que se matan/vnos a otros y entonces se conciertan las juntas y trayciones que an de hazer para yr a quitar el oro al principal del pueblo que/les parece y cortar cabeças de yndios o yndias. Lo que adoran es/al diablo ynbocandole y de la figura que se les aparecelo pin-/tan llamandole generalmente anito. Tienen ansi mismo/vn pajaro que llaman bantay que este todas las vezes que sa-/len fuera de su pueblo avnque sea a sus contrataciones si le/canta ala mano yzquierda del rrio o estero se buelben y dejan/de seguir su uiaje temiendolo por mal aguero y lo propio es de/vna garça parda si

se levanta de la mano derecha y se sienta a/ la yzquierda del rrio o camino donde ban y haziendo en contra/de esto siguien su camino y ban muy contento, principal-/mente si ban a hazer guerra con otros entienden que lleban/la uictoria de su parte y si la tienen y traen algun despojo o ca-/ueças de sus enemigos lo celebran asi mismo con borrache-/ras tañendo vnas campanas que ellos tienen baylando vnos/y bebiendo otros y mugeres entre ellos y todos celebran la/fiesta de la uictoria que tuuieron poniendose en las guirnaldas/munchas plumas amarillas de oro pendolas y estas se las/ponen los yndios balientes que an cortado algunas cabeças y su-/elen estar en estos bayles y borracheras dos y tres y mas/algunas vezes celebrando esta fiesta. Los maganitos/que hazen que es el adoracion que ellos tienen es cruel lo que/vnas biejas e yndios que andan en auitos de muger les dizen/y estos quando quieren sauer de su anito algun suceso hazen/traer a vna sala v aposento cantidad de sacerillas llenos/ de arroz y cangrejos y azeyte y agua y vnas yerbas [*illegible*] y otras/cosas que les piden y todo esto cozido y junto lo dicho si el anito/[10*b*] es por algun enfermo lo hazen que este alli junto y a sus/hijos y alrrededor del bayla y canta con vn paño las manos/haziendo munchos ademanes y asi mismo le ayudan otras/yndias que no hazen mas de baylar y bolberse asu puesto/y la maestra de esta serimonias se queda con en enfermo/y hablando entre si con munchos ademanes es queda medio/tras puesta y luego buelbe en si y se ba al enfermo y le unta/con azeytes la caueça y munchas partes del cuerpo y le dize/que el anito le dara salud y la comida que esta en las sal-/cerillas acauado el anito come el enffermo della y los hijos/y los demas de casa y si sobra algo lo bienen apedir los vezinos/como si fuera pan bendito. Y quando el maganito no es de en-/ffermo sino de desposorio o por las cosechas de sus sementeras/traen todo el oro y piedras preciosas que cada vno tiene en-/sima de si y lo propio las mugeres con todas sus joyas y hazen/juntas en casamiento en casa del desposado o del suegro y asi/para las simenteras en vna particular que tienen para este/efecto y alli enpiecan su anito bebiendo y comiendo y/tañen campanas y otros sones y las mugeres y mancebos/baylan y es de manera que en veynte o treynta dias que dura/esta fiesta no dejan de baylar y cantar en el bayle el qual/nunca esta baco [*sic*] sino que en cansandose vnos estan otros / luego para entrar a ello y los demas principales e yndios ba-/lientes estan comiendo y beuiendo hasta

que se enborrachan/y caen que entonces lo lleban acuestas sus esclauos o muger/a que duerma. Y en boluiendo en si torna ala casa y junta y se/enborracha de nuebo y despues de auer pasado todo esto el tiempo/que estan en su anito la bieja maestra saca vnas quentas/coloradas y las da a los yndios mas principales y balientes/y a las mugeres de estos y ellos las estiman en muncho y las/guardan como nosotros. La que son benditas y los platos sal-/cerillas y uasijas en que se a echo este maganito las quie-/bran y echan fuera de la casa y no quieren que nadie se sirua/dellas y luego otro dia como salen de alli los que an de hazer/[11*a*] simenteras acuden a ellas y ponen por obra y las cultiuan y si es/casamiento dandole el marido a la que a de ser su muger las arras./Desde entonces lo queda con condicion que si por parte della se deshaze/el casamiento le a deboluer todo lo que le a dado y si por parte del/ se a de quedar ella con todo el docte y es constumbre que el marido a de/doctar la muger y sino no se casan nunca es constumbre entrellos/de casarse y descasarse por lo que se les antoja. Lo que hazen en naciendo/la criatura es llebarla al rrio y laballa y la madre haze lo mismo/y alli le cortan a la criatura el ombligo y lo laban muy bien y lo/ ponen a secar y danselo al padre para que lo guarde y el lo toma y lo/ guarda vna bolsa donde tiene las piesillas del oro. Y a los mucha-/chos en siendo de ocho años les enseñan a tirar con vn arca y flechas/y a otros como tienen de jugar vna lança y paues y con en curso salen/ grandes flecheros. Y si algun principal tiene algun hijo pequeño/procura en las guerras donde el ba traelle vn muchacho o yndio/para les corte las caueças y ceballe a su ynclinacion. Es gente/muy celosa y suelen matar las mugeres si las hallan con otros yn-/dios y sobre esto acaese mouerse guerras entre ellos que cuestan/munchas muertes.

LA COSTUMBRE QUE TIENEN EN LOS / ENTIERROS ES LA SIGUIENTE

Lleban vna sarta de bahandines y bulaganes los cinco grandes / y los otros medianos y los bulaganes muy buenos.

Cinco sartas de bulaganes y bahandines de munchos generos cenidos/en la barriga.

Vnas orejeras que suelen pesar quinze taes de oro.

Vn gorjal de oro uatido que dizen pesa dos taes de oro.

Lleban vn paño negro cenido por la barriga y pecho con munchos le-/ones de oro otras figuras sembrado por todo el de muncho valor.

Vnos palillos de oro con vn plumaje que suele traer vn puñal en la/caueça quando ba a las guerras todo de oro de muncho valor.

Entierran los en un hoyo de dos braças de hondo, quatro braças de largo/y braça y media de ancho. Donde esta vn baroto aserrado por medio el/medio debajo entero y el de arriba en dos pedaços como puertas y una ta-/bla por la misma abertura e dos petates puestos encima y alli/[11*b*] le meten vn chicubite de bonga y otro de cal y otro de buyo.

Metenles dos chicubites de mantas cada lado el suyo.

Dos chicubites de platos a cada lado el suyo.

Vn chicubite en que le ponen los tiborcillos de azeyte y otros muy olorosos azeytes.

Doz bateas la una ala cabesera y la otra a los pies.

Cubrenlo todo de tierra y luego hazen vn camarin sobre la sepoltura.

El traje de las mugeres es la chinina hasta el ombligo largas/ de mangas y las atan por las espaldas con vna cinta.

Tienen las mantas cortas hasta la rrodilla abiertas por vn lado/en la caueça traen trancado. El cauello con un bejuco muy bien la-/brado y delgado y muy largo el cabello muy bien curado con sus aceytes.

Andan descalças avnque sea las mas principal.

[27*a*] CONSTUMBRES Y USOS SERIMONIAS/Y RRITOS DE BISAYAS

Aconstumbran los Bisayas a pintarse los cuerpos con/vnas pinturas muy galanas. Hazen las con hierros de/azofar puestos al fuego y tienen oficiales muy pulidos/que los saben bien hazer. Hazen las con tanta horden y/concierto y tan acompas que causan admiracion a quien/las be. Son a manera de luminaciones pintanse los/hombres todas las partes del cuerpo como son los pechos/barriga pierna y brasos espaldas manos y muslos, y al-/gunos los rrastros. Las mugeres se pitan solamente las/manos muy galanamente. A los hombres sirben estas/pinturas como si fuesen bestidos y asi parecen bien aunq./ andan desnudos de hordinario que no traen en el cuerpo/sino vn paño de algodon de largura de dos brasas poco mas/y de anchura de tres cuartas el qual con vnas bueltas/muy pulidas que con el hazen poniendoselo rrebuelto/a la sintura y entre vna pierna y otra tapando con el sus/berguensas y partes traseras quedando todo lo demas del/cuerpo desnudo. Alqual paño en su lengua llaman bahaque/y con esto paresen bien las

pinturas como si fuese un bestido/muy galana. Tiene otra manera de bestidos que son vnas/mantas de algodon que hazen vnas como rropas de leban/tar. Son serradas por la delantera. Traen los hombres en/las cauesas vnas muy galanas toquillas de munhas/colores que puestas en la cauesa hazen con ellas una/ manera de tocado como turbante turquesco. Llaman a/estas en su lengua purones y cierto que es vistoso y galano/y los que son moços lo traen muy pulido con munchas/listas de oro.

El abito y bestiduras de las mujeres bisayas son vnas/mantas muy listadas de diuersas colores echas de al-/godon y otros de vna yerba que tienen de que las labran/y algunas ay que las traen de tafetan rrazo y damasco / de lo que biene de la china. La echura de todas ellas es/cosida la manta por vna y otra parte quedando echa [27*b*] como vna saca grande de trigo con dos bocas y metiendo/se la vna de las bocas por la cabesa quando se la bisten/y despues la doblan de la cintura abajo cayendo las dos/bocas de la manta a la parte de abajo y dan vna lasada con/la misma manta por encima de la sintura, coxendola/por ser muy ancha y tener lugar con esto de dar la lasada/ y les queda apretada al cuerpo y la lasada a vn lado muy/ galanamente echa y entonces parece el bestido como/si truxesendos faldellin. Es el uno mas largo que el otro/porque con la dobladura que hazen biene aparecer de esta/faycion que digo. Traen junto con esto unos corpesuelos/o jubones con vnas medias mangas arrocadas que les/llega hasta los codos avnque algunas ay que traen en-/teras todas las mangas. Son muy justos sin cuellos/y escotados abrochan los por delante con vnas trensas o/cordones de seda y munchas ay que traen muncha cha-/peria de oro con que los abrochan quaxan los de cadenilla/de oro vespigueta cada vna como mejor puede. No traen nin-/gun genero de camisas ni las aconstumbran porque todo/esto lo traen arrayz de las carnes y se les parece la cintura/y barriga traen las piernas descubiertas casi vn palmo./ Quando ban fuera lleban vnas cubiertas como mantos/son de algodon y blancas y algunas ay que lo lleban de/tapetan de colores. Quando ban fuera las mugeres de/sus casas a ber y bicitar otras ban muy despacio haziendo/mill meneos con el cuerpo llebando vn braço colgando/mangeando con el porque lo tienen por gran bizarria./Lo mismo hazen los hombres si son principales sue-/len llebar las mujeres vnas como coronas y quir-/naldas en las cauesas echas de orropel que se les trae/de la

china abender y algunas bezes quando no lo/tienen las lleban echas de flores y rrosas de los campos.

[28*a*] Los bisayas tienen y sienten del origen y principio/del mundo vna cosa harto para rreyr llena de mill/desatinos. Dizen que antes que obiese tierra abia sielo y/agua solamente lo qual era abeterno y que abia vn abe/que andaba siempre bolando entre el sielo y el agua sin/hallar donde rreposar; que esta abe hera el milano el/qual andando bolando cansado de su contino bolar de/termino de rrobolber al cielo y al agua para ber si por aqui/hallaria alguna parte donde poder asentarse y descansar/del contino trabajo que de andar bolando tenia, porque/en el cielo no hallaba lugar para ello ni menos en el agua/y subiendose bolando hazia el cielo le dijo que la mar/dezia que se abia de lebantar en alto y meterse en el/cielo hasta anegarlo con su agua y que el cielo dixo al/milano que si la mar hiziese lo que dezia para quererle/anegar que ello echaria enzima de su agua munhas/yslas y piedras de manera que no pudiese jamas llegar/su agua adonde el cielo estaba ni hazelle mal alguno/porque con las yslas e piedras que le echaria enzima/la mar se andaría ala rredonda de ellas y no tendria lu-/gar de se lebantar contra el cielo como dezia ni subirse/en lo alto porque el muncho peso de las yslas y piedras/se lo estorbaria. Pues luego que el milano oyo esto al/sielo se bajo ala mar y le dixo que el cielo estaba muy/enojado con ella y que le queria echar enzima munhas/yslas e piedras muy grandes y de muncho peso; abiendo/la mar entendido lo que el milano dejia que el cielo/queria echar contra ella se enojo contra ella tal manera/que comenso a lebantarse y acreser subirse tanto a-/rriba con tanta fuerça e ynpetu con determinacion/de anergarle que el cielo començo a temer y ay se suby-/endo mas arriba porque la mar no le anegase con lo/qual la mar se le lebantaba con mas fuerça y furor.

[28*b*] Y procuraba subir mas alta y bisto el cielo que toda-/bia la mar le yba siguiendo y creciendo mas, le començo/a echar enzima munchas piedras muy grandes y mun-/chas yslas con el peso de las quales la mar se fuca ba-/jando a su lugar donde estaba primero y andabastre/las yslas y piedras que el cielo le auia echado enzima que/no pudo mas subirse contra el, quedandose el cielo en su/mismo lugar muy contento con lo que con la mar auia echo,/pues luego el milano bido la tierra sobre la mar bajo/ella con muncha contento por auer hallado donde/descansar del contino bolar que tenia. Y que estando en/

la tierra descansado bio por el agua benir vna caña que/ tenia dos cañutos tan solamente los quales la rresaca / de la mar los traya y llebaba hazia la tierra donde el/milano estaba a la orrilla de la qual siempre la rresaca/de la mar los llebaba a dar a los pies del milano y aunque / se desbiaba a otra parte para que no le diesen en los pies,/ todabia la caña se yba adonde el milano estaba y le/daba en los pies y le lastimaba con los golpes que le daba./Por lo qual el milano començó a dar grandes picadas en/la caña y hizo tanto con el pico que bino aquebrar y / deshazer los dos cañutos de caña y dellos salieron luego/del vno vn hombre y del otro vna muger y que estos/ ffueron el primer hombre y mujer que bo en el mundo./Y que el hombre se llamo calaque y la muger cabaye/de los quales dizen los Bisayas que tubieren principio/los nombres de muger y hombre que entre ellos ay por/que en su lengua llaman al hombre alaque y ala/muger babay deribados de estos dos primeros hombres/de hombre y muger que fueron hallados en los dos ca-/ñutos de caña que el milano hizo pedasos. Dizen mas/que luego que el hombre y la muger salieron de los dos ca-/ñutos de caña el hombre dixo a la muger se casasen/[29*a*] el vno con el otro, para que multiplicasen y hiziesen/generacion. Y que la muger no quizo benir en el casamiento/diziendo que no hera justo que ellos se casasen porque/eran hermanos y se auian criado juntos en aquellos/dos canutos de caña donde no auia de por medio mas que/tan solamente vn nudo de las misma caña; que si se casaban/los castigauan sus dioses Maguayem y Malaon/que asi nombran y llaman a estos que son los mas princi-/pales dioses que entre ellos ay. El hombre dixo a la muger/que de ello no tuuiese ningun miedo que bien se podrian casar y que para sauer si los dioses se enoxarian o no/de ello que se lo preguntasen a los peces de la mar que/ellos dirian si se enoxarian sus dioses de su casamiento./Y con este acuerdo lo fueron a preguntar a las toninas/y les rrespondieron que se podian muy bien casar que/no tuuiesen temor que fuesen por ello castigados de/sus dioses porque tanbien se auian ellos casado siendo/hermanos como ellos y abian benido en grande muti-/plicacion y abundancia como bian y no les auia casti-/gado por ello los dioses. Y aunque esto bio y entendio/la muger no quizo benir en el casamiento con su her-/mano por el temor que a sus dioses tenia. Y el hombre/le torno a dezir que para mas sastifacion de saber si/seria bien casarse entrambos y que no se enojarian dello/los dioses se la tornasen a pre-

guntar a las aues que/ellas lo dirian y acordados con esto se fueron entram-/bos a las palomas y se lo preguntaron diziendo les como/heran hermanos y si los dioses se enojarian si se casa-/ban el vno con el otro, las palomas dixeron la misma/ rrespuesta que auian dicho las toninas diziendo les/que era bien que los dos se casasen y que obiese dellos/muncha generacion porque lo mismo auian ellas/echo; por lo qual auian multiplicado tanto en la/tierra y que avnque heran hermanos no se auian dello/[29*b*] enojado los dioses y con todo esto que la muger oya/no oso determinarse a casar por el temor que a los/ dioses tenia si no, bino a dezir que si se auia de casar/hera preguntando se lo a algun dios de los suyos y/que si el se lo dezia que entonces se casaria y no de/otra manera. Y el hombre dixo que a si se hiziese y de/vn acuerdo fueron ambos a lo saber y preguntar al/dios Linuc que es el temblor de la tierra y auiendo se lo/preguntado dio por rrespuesta y dixo que hera cossa/justa que los dos se casasen y ampliasen el mundo/con su generacion; que no temiesen que por ello los dioses/se enojarian. Con lo qual la muger bino y concedio en/ el casamiento pues los pescados y las aues y el dioss/Linuc se lo dezian con que el casamentero [*sic*] entre ellos/fuese el mismo dios Linuc temblor de la tierra. Y bol-/biendo a el para que los casase y los caso y quedaron contentos.

Dizen mas que poco tiempo adelante la muger se/empreño y bino a parir de vna bez muncha cantidad/de hijos e hijas que no les podian sustentar despues/de criados, porque heran todos tan haraganes que se/estaban en casa y no se les dabanada por buscar/lo necesario ni menos querian ayudar a sus padres/ para ello. De lo qual se binieron a enojar, con los/hijos y determinaron de los echar de su casa. E para / esto vn dia biniendo el padre de fuera fingio benir/muy enojado y entrando en casa como los bido a/todos jugando y ociosos tomo vn palo y dando grandes/boces di otras los hijos dando a entender que lo sauia de/matar. Y los hijos dieron a huyr no osando esperar a/ su padre biendole tan enojado, temiendo que les auia de/ matar y se apartaron vnos de otros donde mejor pu-/dieron, yendose munchos fuera de casa de su padre/[30*a*] y otros se metieron en el aposento de la casa y algunos se quedaron en la sala principal della y otros se es-/condieron detras de las paredes de la misma casa y otros/se fueron a la cozina y se escondieron entre las ollas/y en las chimeneas. Dizen pues estos Bisayas que/destos que se metieron en los aposentos de

la cassa/bienen agora los señores y principales que ay/entre ellos, y los que mandan y a quien rrespectan/y sirben que son entre ellos como en nra. spana; los/señores de título llaman les en su lenga datos. Y a los que/se quedaron en la sala principal de la casa son los ca-/valleros y hidalgos entre ellos porque son libres y no/pagan cosa ninguna; a estos llaman en su lengua/timaguas. Los que se pusieron detras de las paredes de/la casa dizen que son los que tienen por esclauos, a los qua-/les llaman en su lengua oripes. Los que fueron a la/cocina y se escondieron en la chimenea y entre las/ollas dizen que son los negros, diziendo y afirmando /que bienen de ellos todos los negros que ay en las/philipinas yslas del poniente en las serranias de/ellas. Y de los demas que se fueron fuera de casa que/nunca mas bolbieron ni supieron dellos dizen que/bienen todas las demas generaciones que ay en el/mundo, diziendo que estos fueron munchos y que/ se fueron a munchas y diversas partes. Y esto es lo/ que tienen del principio y criacion de los hombres, te-/niendo junto con esto a sus antepasados por dioses/como los tienen, diziendo que les puede favorecer/en todas sus necesidades y dar salud o quitarsela y asi/quando las tienen los ynbocan y llaman teniendo que/a todo les an de acudir.

[30*b*] Dizen asi mismo que la causa porque los que mueren/ no tornan a bolber a este siglo es porque vno de sus ante-/ pasados luego que començo a aber hombres; que se dezia/Pandaguam que fue el primero segun ellos que yn-/bento el arte y manera de pescar y hizo en la mar corrales/ para este effecto; que tomo vn dia en vn corral de pescar/que hizo vn tiburon y que sacandole en tierra se le murio/y que le hizo obsequias como si fuera algun hombre,/por lo qual se enojaron contra el los dioses y enbiaron/vn rrayo del cielo que mato a Pandaguam porque hizo/obsequias al tiburon al qual Pandaguam despues/de muerto los dioses lo llebaron al cielo y entraron en/consulta con el y lo tornaron a enbiar al mundo auiendo/ pasado treynta dias que murio para bibiese y estuvie-/se en el; y que en estos treynta dias que Pandaguam estubo/en el cielo y fuera del mundo su muger que se dezia Lo-/blobam se amancebo con vno llamado Marancon/entendiendo que Pandaguam su marido no abia de/bolber mas al mundo. Tenia Pandaguam en esta su mu-/ger vn hijo que se dezia Anoranor el qual fue el primero/que bio a su padre quando bolbio al mundo, porque estando/en su casa lo bido porque alla fue donde primero

Panda-/guam bino por ber a su muger Lobloban. Y preguntando/ a su hijo Anoranor por su madre le dixo el hijo que no/ estaba en casa y mandole que la fuese a buscar y le/dixese que ya abia rrecucitado, y que los dioses le abian/enbiado al mundo y que quedaba en su casa aguardan-/dola. Estaba Lobloban en aquella sazon quando el/hijo le fue a dezir lo que Pandaguam le mandaba en/casa de su amigo Maroncon holgandose en vn conbite/que le hazia de vn puerco que auia hurtado, por lo qual es/benido entre los Bisayas este Maroncon por el ynbentor del/ [31*a*] hurto, y como el hijo dixo a Lobloban que se fuese a/ egva su casa porque ya Pandaguan auia rrecusitado/y la enbiada a llamar porque la queria ber, enojose/de esto Lobloban con su hijo Anoranor dandole muy/aspera y fea rrespuesta diziendole que mentia en/lo que le auia dicho y que se fuese y no le dixese nin-/guna cosa de aquellas; que pues ya Pandaguan era/muerto, que no abia debolber mas al mundo que/pues el tiburon a quien el mato y hizo obsequias/no abia rresucitado, menos rresucitaria Pandaguan/su padre, y con esta rrespuesta bolbio Anoranor a su/casa y dixo a su padre Pandaguan lo que su madre/Lobloban auia dicho; dandole con esto quenta de/todo lo que auia echo despues que fue muerto con/el rrayo por los dioses y como se amancebo con Ma-/rancon sintio muncho Pandaguan esto y saliendose/de su casa con muncho enojo contra su muger se fue/al ynfierno, a quien llaman en la lengua suya/sular, y que nunca mas parecio ni bolbio al mundo./De lo qual tienen estos Bisayas que los hombres/se hizieron mortales por auer hecho Pandaguan obse-/quias al tiburon muerto; y tienen tambien que la causa/porque los muertos no buelben a esta uida del mundo/despues que mueren fue porque la muger Lobloban/no quiso benir al mandado de Pandaguan su marido/porque de antes de todo esta que emos dicho tenian/por ynmortales a los hombres. Y si alguno ma-/taban los dioses le rresucitaban luego y bol-/bian al mundo y a bibir como primero hizieron/a Pandaguan. Mas des aca todos los que se morian/y ban al ynfierno a quien como emos dicho llaman/sular hasta tanto que vbo entre ellos una mu-/[31*b*] ger llamada si baye o Mahelucy y otros llaman Sibay/o mastrasan, la qual dizen hordeno vn sacrificio a/sus dioses para que las animas de los que muriesen/ no fuesen al ynfierno si no que fuesen por ellos en-/biadas a cierta parte de aquellas yslas en las mas/asperas montañas donde no fuesen bistas de ningun bibiente donde estuuiesen en

bida rregalada/y en banquetes, de lo qual adelante daremos mas par-/ticular rrelacion a este sacrificio que esta muger/ ynbento. Llaman en su legua maganito y pueden/lo hazer hombres y mugeres y los que los hazen les/llaman Baylanes si son hombres y si son mugeres/Baysanas, que es como entre nosotros echiseros o/echiseras o encantadores o encantadoras y entre los/gentiles rromanos sacerdotes o sacerdotizas; estos/ ynbocando a sus dioses o demonios por mejor dezir/con ciertas palabras superticiosas y ademanes que/tienen, matando el sacerdote o sacerdotiza que/a de hazer el sacrificio con sus propios manos con/vna lança, vn puerco a el qual cortando le la cabeça/la pone por si y aparte de toda la demas carne no/ tocando nadie a ella de los que presentes se allan,/sino tan solamente el sacerdote que a de hazer / el sacrificio a maganito, como ellos dizen, diziendo/que aquella cabeça es para los dioses y que nadie/puede tocar a ella sino el que haze el sacrificio. El/ qual despues de auer echo el sacrificio o echizo/se la come el solo y la demas carne serre parte entre/todos los que se hallan presentes al sacrificio; comiendo muy esplendidamente, bibiendo cierta / bebida que hazen de arros, hasta que se enborrachan/y los lleban a sus casas sus criados y amigos de los braços/[32*a*] o a los hombros. Y este sacrificio es el que acostumbran/hazer quando esta alguno enfermo y para que/sus dioses le den salud y sauer dellos. Si les es acepto este/sacrificio hazen esto—toman los que tienen en este/oficio de sacerdotes el rre-daño del puerco que an mu-/erto y ponenlo sobre el suelo de una olla de barro, to-/cando a este tiempo vnas campanas que ellos aconstum-/bran, haziendo con ellas muy grande rruydo, diziendo/algunas cantares y haziendo otras cosas de rreguzijo/ y alegria estando a todo presente el enfermo por/cuya salud haze el sacrificio, derramando por el/suelo muncha de la bebida que alli tienen. Para solo/este efecto diziendo que aquello que se derrama es/para que beban sus dioses, ynbocando junto con esto/a sus antepasados, teniendo por cierto que les pue-/den fauorecer y dar salud, porque tanbien los tie-/nen por dioses. Y si acaso el enfermo muere siendo / el tal persona poderosa, quando le entierran me-/ten juntamente on el algunos de los esclauos q/tiene enterrando los bibos deporsi; porque al prin-/cipal ponen lo en un ataud de madera dentro de/su mesma casa diziendo que los an menester los/difuntos para que les sirban en el otro mundo/y les aderesen la comida y lo demas que obieren me-/nester: para lo qual hazen otro sacrificio y

borra-/chera de munchos conbites ynbocando a los de/monios con ciertas palabras que aconstumbran / pidiendo les que tengan por bien las animas de/todos aquellos que alli se entierran, las dexen/salir del ynfierno y las lleben a unas serranias/muy asperas y muy altas a donde no auita gente/[32*b*] por su muncha asperesa, para que alli esten hol-/gandose y banquetiando en bida rregalada en las/quales ellos entienden que estan sus antepasadoss / ocupados de contino en comer y beber muy rregalada-/mente. Y afirmantan en suceso este desbario que/ oyr se lo pone admiracion de ber quan creydo tienen/esto que no ay quien se lo quite de la cabeça avnque/mas les digan y afirmen que no es asi ni pasa tol/tienen. Otros abusos y supesticiones: como es que/saliendo de sus casas para alguna parte, si alguno/dellos o otro estornuda se tornan a entrar en ellas/y se estan vn cierto espacio de tiempo, que no toinan/ a salir y acauado salen y ban a hazer lo que y ban. Y quando an de yr a alguna parte fuera de sus/pueblos a contratar o a hazer guerra o a otra cossa,/alguna echan suertes con vnos cormillos de/caymanes que para esto tienen para por ellas/ saber si les a de suceder bien en aquel camino que/quieren hazer y si la suerte muestra que a de suceder/bien en aquel camino que quieren hazer. Y si la/suerte muestra que a de suceder bien ban luego/a ello haziendo primero dos o tres dias borracheras. / La misma horden guardan si an de yr a la guerra/ y si la suerte no es buena dejan el camino o biaze/ por algunos dias hasta que le salga buena suerte. / Ay asi mismo entre los Bisayas vnos aquien/ellos llaman a axuanos o malaques que es lo/mismo que entre nosotros brujos y dizen que/tienen poder para matar a quien ellos quieren/con solo dezir que se mueran las personas a quien/estos axuanes o malaques quieren matar./[33*a*] Y dizen que tanbien hazen lo mismo si se enojan/ con alguna persona que con solo mirarla matan. / Y si alguna vez sucede que en el pueblo o parte donde/alguno de estos echizeros estan que muere algu-/na persona principal o hijo suyo matan luego/los parientes del principal que murio al echizeron/que esta o bibe en aquel pueblo juntamente con/ todos los de su casa y parentela diziendo que aquel/brujo mato al tal principal y que por esto nadie de/su linaje a de quedar bibo porque el que quedare a de/ser como el mismo echizero y a de matar a otros mudos.

Quando juran aconstumbran dezir en sus jura-/mentos estos palabras teniendolas por gran jura-/mento y que el que las

dize no a de osar dezir mentira:/"el sol me parta, baya me yo con el sol o muerame/con el o el cayman o lagarto; me coma si esto que digo/no es ansi berdad." Teniendo que sino la dizen les a de/suceder lo que en el juramento an jurado y con todo dizen mill mentiras y falsos testimonios.

Tienen por muy cierto que todos los que mueren/apuñaladas o les come algun lagarto o bestia/fiera asi de mar como de tierra o la que mata al-gun rrayo del cielo que los tales a quien semejantes/muertes suceden sus animas ban al cielo con sus dioses/y no a las serranias altas que otras diximoss/que ban los que mueren de sus enfermedades,/diziendo que estos se suben al cielo por los arcoss/que en el parecen quando ay lubias a los quales/estiman y tienen muncho diziendo que son muy/ balientes.

No tienen templos ningunos donde adoren y rrebexi-/ [33*b*] cien a sus dioses ni menos tienen ningunos rre-/ligiosos que les enseñen ni prediquen sus rritos,/ ni hagan bida de abstinencia ni rreligion como ti-/enen los demas ydolatras que ay en el mundo. / Tan solamente tienen los echizeros o echizeras/ que emos dicho los quales no hazen otra cosa mas/que la su-pesticiones de matar el puerco con todo lo/demas que sobre ellos diximos ni ay mas horden/de rreligion.

Estos Bisayas traen el cabello muy largo asi/hombres como mugeres y precianse muncho dello,/peynandose muy amenudo echando en el ciertos/ynguentos olorosos que hazen para ello. Traen lo/cojido a vn lado de la cabeça echo con el mismo ca-/bello vna lasada muy pulida que no se les deshaze/si de proposito no se la quitan. No traen ningun tocado/las mugeres en que lo traygan coxido sino sola-/mente como e dicho con la lazada que en su manera/es muy pulida y parecen bien y los hombres lo/ traen cojido con vnas tetillas muy galanas con que/ le dan vnas bueltas ala arredonda de la cabeça a las/quales llaman purones de que luego trataremos. / Los hombres y mugeres traen las orejas abiertas/por munchas partes y en las aberturas dellas se/ponen las mugeres y hombres munchas cosas y jo-/yas de oro echas con muncho primor porque ay para/esto entre ellos munchos y muy buenos oficiales/que labran de philygrana escoxidamente y con/munchas utileza. Vnos son de echura de rrosas y estas las traen las mugeres solamente y llaman las pomaras. Otros son como argollas rredondas/[34*a*] que las traen los hombres y mugeres llaman les/panicas y traen

algunos tres o quatro pares dellas/en las orejas que como tienen tantos agujeross/en ellas lo pueden hazer.

No tienen estos Bisayas rrey ni persona mayor/a quien todos obedescan. Generalmente lo que mas/tienen es en cada vn pueblo ay vno o dos o mas prin-/cipales aquien en su lengua como emos dicho lla-/man datos, que como en españa señores de titulo. A estos obedecen los de aquel pueblo en todo lo/que les mandan porque los mas dellos son esclauos/de estos y los que no lo son en el pueblo son deudos de/los datos; a los quales llaman timaguas que es lo/que es castilla Hidalgos porque son esentos de no/pagar ni contribuyr ninguna cosa a los datos o/ principales.

Tienen de hordinario entre si los Bisayas munchas/guerras y diferencias mayormente antes que bini-/esen españoles a su tierra; que apenas abia pueblo; que tubiese paz con sus vezinos, matandose y rroban-/dose vnos a otros con muncha crueldad, haziendose/mill trayciones; que de esto son grandes maestros/ tomandose vnos a otros por esclauos; no guardando/la palabra que daban y prometian agora. Despues/que ay entre ellos españoles, an cesado casi de todo/punto estas cosas porque apenas ay entre ellos gue-/rras y diferencias porque los españoles se las com-/ponen y les quitando debates, porque como los tie-/nen en encomienda y les pagan tributo, procurando/que no aya ninguna de estas cosas y las justicias por/su parte hazen lo mismo.

[34*b*] Las armas que estas gentes aconstumbran/son vnos puñales de estraña echura. Las vaynas de/madera llamanles bararaos y unas lanças con vnos/ hierros de echura de lenguados, las astras pequeñas/del estatura de vn hombre poco mas. Tienen pabeses/de madera con que se cubren los cuerpos quando pelean./ Son largos y angostos. Tienen algunos muy galanos/y pintados. Hazen vnas armas amanera de coraças de hilo de algodon my fuertes que aunque les den/o tiren con vna lança avnque sea de muy cerca no les/haran daño ninguno. Tienen otras echas de palo a mane-/ra de petos y espaldares que defiende vna flecha y/vna lança de tienen arcos y flechas en los hierros de/las quales echan algunas vezes ponçona que ay/muncha en todas las yslas philipinas. Y en algunas de estas yslas husan vnas serbetanas como las que/en españa ay con que matan pajaros con las quales/tiran vnas flechuelas muy pequenas con hierros/muy agudos las quales tiran por el agujero de la serbatana/y ban los hierros de estas frechuelas lle-/nos de ponsoña

o yerba. Y si hazen sangre en la herida q./dan o hazen mueren de lla avnque sea muy poca. / Hazen munchas lansas de palo y cañas con las punta/tostadas las quales tiran muy amenudo quando/pelean vnos con otros. Tienen rrodelas echas de bejucos. / Son muy fuertes porque no se pueden cortar ni pasar/de ninguna cuchillada que sobre ellas den. En al-/gunas partes traen en las cabeças vnos como cascos/o morriones echos de cuero de pescado que son muy/fuertes. Tienen algunos coseletes echos de cuero de/bufano y algunos ay de cuero de elefante que/ay algunos en vna ysla llamada xolo aunque no son / [35*a*] tan grandes como los de la yndia.

Tienen munchas manera de nauios de muy dife-/rentes echuras y nombres con los quales hazen sus/guerras y ban a sus navegaciones. Son por la mayor/parte pequeños los que vsan para la guerra e yr a/rrobar llaman barangays y si son algo grandes lla-/man les vireyes. Estos son muy largos y angostos/ban en ellos cinquenta personas y si son algo grandes/ban ciento; todas las quales an de rremar ecepto el/prencipal que ba en el nauio. Los rremos de estos/navios son del tamaño de vna bara de medir poco mas/con sus palos muy bien echas. Estos rremos no los a-/tan al nauio para rremar con ellos sino que sen-/tados los que rreman a bordo del nauio ban rremando/con el rremo muy descansadamente con entrambas/manos. Son los nauios demasiadamente ligeros,/echandos o tres andañas de rremos por banda quan-/do tienen gente para ello yendo asentadas, y puestos/ estas andanas que digo en vnos contra pesos que/los nauios lleban echos de cañas muy grandes/que ay en todas las philipinas yslas del poniente/los quales contra pesos ban fuera del cuerpo del/nabio por entrambas partes y en ellos ban sentados/los que rreman muy sin pesadumbre con estoss/contrapesos ban los nabios muy seguros que/no pueden çoçobrar y çufren muncha mar acausa/que suspenden el nauio para arriba y no quiebran/ las olas en el cuerpo del nabio sino en el con-/trapeso osan de belas rredondas como las nras. Tienen otros nabios que llaman birocos sson/mas grandes que los que emos dicho porque ay al-/[35*b*] gunos que son deporte de quinientas o seycientas/ hanegas de trigo. Son tanbien de rremos, mas son/muy largos y ban atados al nabio como los nros,/ y tienen diferente echura. Estos son los mayores/nauios que tienen; todos los demas son pequeños/y nombranlos por muy diferentes nombres y tie-/nen diferentes echuras que no ay para que tratar/aqui dellos pues no ynporta muncho.

No tienen estas gentes justicias ni hombres diputados/para el bien commd. de sus rrepublicass,/ni se castigan los delitos que hazen o cometen por/ninguna persona sino que cada vno que es agrauiado/toma por si la satisfacion de las ynjurias que le son-/fechas. Los principales hazen lo que quieren sin/aber quien les baya ala mano, haziendo esclauo/al que se les antoja por muy poquito que contra/ellos se haga y dan libertad con la misma facilidad/aquien quieren sin auer quien en nada les uaya a/la mano, avnque despues que los españoles estan/en las philipinas y las tienen pobladas no les dexan/hazer ni consienten a nadie ninguna de estas tira-/nias yendo a la mano a los principales y a loss/demas que las quieren hazer lo mismo hazen las/justicias donde estan.

Los edificios y cosas que tienen y asientos de los/pueblos son muy rruynes, porque no tienen traça/ni horden ni concierto en ello. Son de palos y de cañas/muy grandes que ay en todas las philipinas yslas/del poniente, porque tienen a siete y a ocho braças/y tan gordas como casi el muslo sirbense de ellas/[36*a*] para todos sus edificios y obras hazen de ellas/las paredes y suelos altos de las casas partiendolas/por medio y texendelas vnas con otras de la manera/que los cesteros hazen las mimbres quando hazen/alguna canasta. Los pueblos no tienen concierto/en sus calles ni casas sino que cada vno la asienta/y pone donde le parece. Ay en las calles y entre lass/casas munchos arboles silbestres y palmas de cocos/avnque en las partes que ay doctrinas los rreligiosos/les an puesto que tengan en esto alguna pulicia y/la ay. Tienen hordinario las casas y queblos a/la orilla de los rrios y partes pantanosas y cenagosas/porque entre ellos lo tienen por mejor bañanse todos/los dias, asi hombres como mugeres, vna o dos vezes/al dia, publicamente echando las carnes de fuera/tapandose las verguenças con las manos tan solamente hasta entrar donde se las cubra el agua. A/cuya causa son todos los mas muy grandes nadadores/y amigos de andar en el agua asi hombres como mugeres/porque desde que nacen los enseñan a esto.

En sus casamientos tienen esta constumbre que/queriendo casar algun padre a su hijo con hija de otro/el padre del hijo se concierta con el padre de la hija, en/esta manera que le da para ella y por que se case con/su hijo cierta cantidad de oro o su ualor como mejor/entre ellos se conciertan, conforme a la calidad de/cada vno y esta cantidad se la da a el padre de la moça/y se queda con ella sin darla a su hija hasta tanto/

que los casados hazen y tienen casa porsi y aparte que en-/tonces se la dan. En estos casamientos se ayudan los/parientes vnos a otros de esta manera que el padre/de la desposada haze al padre del desposado que de a sus deu-/[36*b*] dos de la desposada alguna cossa por rrazon del/casamiento y lo que les dan a los parientes se que/dan con ello.

Mejoran entre ellos de hordinario a las mugeres/diziendo que pues ellas no an de yr a ganar lo necesario/las an de mejorar. Puedense casar con las mugeres/que quisieren estando bibas todas sin que por ello/tengan pena ni castigo. Si quieren descasarse de/la muger que tienen lo pueden hazer dexandole/ lo que dio por ella al tiempo que se caso al qual/precio llaman buguey que es lo que en españa lla-/mamos docte. Y si es la muger la que se quiere descasar no a de llebar nada y qual-quiera de los dos/se pueden luego tornar a casar. Si la muger haze/adulterio puede el marido dexarla y quitalle/todo lo que tiene y pudiendo aber al adultero/lo puede matar en qualquier parte sin pena ninguna. / Y si le da alguna cosa la puede tomar y le perdona/por ello y con esto no es afronta entre ellos, avon-que/lo que le da sea de muy poco balor al principio del/casa-miento. No paran en que la muger este uirgen vno porque todas las mas estan a este tiempo corrom-/pidas y no hazen caso del esto ni rreparan en ello/avnque tienen por afrenta el parir no siendo casadas.

Traen las mugeres en los braços munchos manillas/de oro y otras de marfil y tambien los hombres vsan/de esto muy de hordinario. A las de oro llaman ganbanes/y las de marfil tiposos; estiman en muncho las de/marfil. Traen al cuello algunas cadenas de oro te-/niendo las por muncha gala y bizarria. Las mugeres/se ponen en las piernas manillas de oro y a la ton/porque las traen descubiertas hasta las panto-/rrilas y tiene traer manillas en las piernas por/muncha gala.

Los juegos y pasatiempos son hazer que los gallos/peleen vnos con otros, teniendo los para estos muy/cebados y rregalados en sus casas y quando an de pe-/lear ponen les vnas nabajelas muy sutiles y agudas / echas como al fanjuelo con vn encaje para atarsela/a las piernas junto adonde les nace el espolon, y/de esta manera les hazen pelear vnos con otros po-/niendo por precio que el dueño del gallo que saliere/bencedor llebe al bencido para se le comer o hazer/del lo que quisiere. Este solo juego e pasatiempo tie-/nen y hazer borracheras que esta es la fiesta mas/principal que entre ellos ay. No tienen dia de fiesta/

ni de guardar para ninguna cosa. Agora que los es-/pañoles estan en aquellas partes an tomado del ellos/algunos juegos como es el de el argolla y damas de/ajedres de que ay muy buenos maestros, especialmente del argolla. Algunos se an dado a los naypes/y los juegan avnque de estos ay pocos.

Los oficios que ay entre ellos son carpinteros/que hazen todo lo que se les pide de carpinteria como/son casas, caxas nauios, bancos: los nabios hazen/sin llebar ningun genero de hierro ni brea ni otro/betumen, sino tan solamente la madera y hazen los/ tan estancos que no les entra agua ninguna. Son/en estremo muy pulidos y bien labrados y platerros/de oro que labran de filigrana sutilisimamente. / Saben fundir y afinar el oro muy bien y herreros q./hazen de hierro muy bien qualquier herramenta / [37*b*] que se les pida. Estos son los oficios que entre ellos/ay mas hordinarios, y hazen todos los demas en/que les ynponen que para todo tienen avilidad.

Son en general grandisimos araganes y enemigos/del trabajo. Gastan el mas tiempo del año en andarse/holgando y enborrachandose, que si la nececidad no/les costriñese dexarian de sembrar sus sementeras y arroz y las demas cosas que siembran para/su sustento. No tienen guertas ni legumbres/ni arboles frutales que cultibar, porque todass/sus frutas son silbestres y agras y de mal gusto/y paradar; solo los plantanos son buenos y de estos/ay gran cantidad y dibersidad de munchas suertes/ dellos los quales cultiban en sus casas y semen-/teras con algunas cañas dulces y patatas y ca-/motes de que tanbien ay abundancia.

No aconstumbran a dormir en camas ni las/tienen avnque ay commodidad para ello, por-/que las podrian hazer de cierta cosa que coxen de/los arboles que en su lengua llaman baro-/que sirbe por colchones como lana. Duermen en/el suelo de sus casas en lo alto dellas que es lo/que auitan porque de lo bajo no se sirben. Ponen/de bajo de los cuerpos tan solamente vnas/esteras de palmas. Otros duermen en vnas como/hamacas echas de mantas de algodon, las quales/cuelgan con dos rramales de soga de los polos o/cañas de la casa y desta manera son sus camas.

Las mugeres tienen por afrenta parir munchas/vezes, especialmente las que auitan en los pueblos/ [38*a*] cercanos a la mar, diziendo que el tener/munchos hijos son como puercas a cuya causa/despues que tienen vno o dos las demas vezes/que se empreñan estando ya de tres o quatro meses/que se les echa

de ver la prenez matan la criatura/en el cuerpo y bienen a mal parir. Y ay mugeres/que tienen esto por oficio y sobando las barrigas/ponen cierta yerba con que muere luego la criatura/y mal pare la preñada. Aconstumbran/tanbien hazer esto las que no son casadas quando/estan preñadas que tanbien tienen por afrenta/tener hijos no siendo casadas avnque no la/ tienen en andar y tener quenta con los hombres/siendo solteras y estar con ellos amancebadas. / Son todas mas hordinariamente mas amigas/del trabajo, que no los hombres, porque cosen/ labran hilan y texen mantas de algodon y o-/tras cosas de que se uisten, ban a las semente-/ras y trabajan en ellas haziendo oficios de/hombres. En general son muy dadas al bicio de/la carne y muy ynteresa les no saben agradeser/ninguna buena obra que por ellas se haga. / Y lo mismo hazen los hombres y avnque les/den muncho jamas agradecen nada y no saben/daren rreconpensa de lo que les dan ninguna/cossa, porque su negocio esta fundado en ynteres/sin el qual no ay hazer birtud.

Ay entre estas gentes tres suertes y maneras de/esclabos: vnos aquien llaman hayo heyes;/de estos se siruen dentro de su casa dentro lo qual/an menester y mientras que son solteross./ [38*b*] Hazen todas la cosas que les mandan y en ca-/sandose toman casa de por si, y mientras no/tienen hijos acuden a hazer el mismo servicio/que hazian quando estaban dentro de las casas/de sus amos de cinco dias de la semana los dos,/y entonces son de la segunda suerte desclauoss/a quien llaman tuheyes, y en teniendo hijos ban/quitando de los dias del servicio a su amo. Y si/tienen munchos hijos no sirben de ninguna cosa/diziendo que harto tienen que hazer en buscar/ de comer para sus hijos. A la tercera suerte de es-/clauos llaman horo-hanes. Estos tienen tan/solamente nombre de esclavos porque no sir-/ben de ninguna manera sino es quando sus amos/ban fuera alguna guerra que entonces loss/lleban para bogar en los nabios en que ban/por la mar y si es por tierra ban haziendo oficios/de soldados de hordinario. Lleban estos a sus ca-/sas quando hazen algun conbite y borrachera/para que se hallen en ellas como conbidados/y quando estos esclauos se mueren sus hazien-/das sin dexar nada las toman sus amos para si,/y si tienen hijos los tales hijos no an de serbir/a los amos de sus padres mientras los padres/biben. Mas luego que mueren sus padres an de/serbir a sus amos en lugar de sus padres y en el/mismo oficio que hazian, siendo entre ellos/esto ley ynbiolable. Aconstumbran tan-/bien los prencipales hazer es-

clavos a los que/matan alguno o cometen algun adulterio/y esto es no teniendo alguna cosa con que poder pa-/[39*a*] gar la muerte o adulterio que hizieron y en/esto no perdonan a nadie avnque sea muy cer-/cano pariente suyo y la pena que por estos delitos les ynponen es cierta cantidad de oro o su ualor que sera como en/castilla quinze ducados quando mas y no pagando/esto quedan echos esclauos.

Aconstumbran los padres vender a los hijos y herma-/nos a hermanos en tiempo de nececidad y hambre y que-/dan los bendidos echos esclauos perpetuos no se pres-/tan vnos a otros cosa alguna y quando alguna co-/sa de estos hazen les an personalmente de servir hasta/tanto que se la paguen rrealmente no descontando/por lo que les an servido ninguna cosa, y de otra manera/no ay hazer virtud avnque sea vn hermano con otro. Tan-/bien se puede vno asimismo hazer esclavo de esta mane-/ra que siendo tan pobre que no tenga ninguna cosa con-/que poderse sustentar porque le den de comer y lo demas/necesario se puede hazer esclauo y ay munchos que por/solo esto lo son. Tienen otras munchas suertes y mane-/ras porque hazen: los principales esclauos por no mas de/que pisan el sol las quales por ser tantos dexo de las de-/zir aqui por no cansar con ellas al letor y porque se bean/algunas y saquen por ellas las demas dire solamente/dos: la vna es que por solo que alguno pase por junto/a vn principal o si el principal se topa con el sino se/desia tan presto como quiere le hazen esclauo. Y si al-/guno entra o pone los pies en el agua sementera del/principal le hazen esclauo. Y a este tono ban las dem[as]/cossas que tienen para hazer esclauos. No tienen ley/ni constumbre de obligar a nadie apena de muerte por ningun delito. Solo pueden hazer los esclauos como e-/mos dicho mas matar los en ninguna manera.

[39*b*] Tienen por hermanos tan solamente a los que son hijoss/de vn padre y de vna madre, y si el padre o la madre se casa/segunda vez y del matrimonio tienen algun hijo o hija/los que antes tenien qualquiera dellos del primer ma-/trimonio no se tienen por hermanos de los del segundo/matrimonio, ni los nombran por tales porque tan/solamente llaman hermanos a los que son hijos de vn/mismo padre y de vna madre. No aconstumbran ce-/lebrar matrimonio ni hazerlo con estos hermanos/de padre o de madre; que esta sola diferencia hazen de/los demas devdos porque con todos se casan en qual-/quier grado de parentesco que sea fuera de padre y madre/o hermanos de padre y madre o de estos hermanoss/de padre o madre tan

solamente aquien dezimos que/no tienen ni nombran por hermanos.

Las obsequias que estos gentes hazen a sus difun-/tos son que muriendo algum principal le meten en/vn ataud de madera y ponenle en lo alto de la casa y/todas las noches le alumbran los esclauous suyos con/vnos achones de cañas ensendidos que ellos acons-/tumbran de hordinario para este menester hazen/ de esto mas de dos meses arreo, y hazen matar algunos/esclauos del difunto dandoles la misma muerte que/su amo tubo; como es que si murio ahogado en el agua/ahogan tanbien a los esclauos en el agua, y si/lo mataron apuñaladas matan lo apuñaladas; de/manera que de la misma muerte que el amo muere/an de ser muertos los esclauos. Y si muere de su en-/fermedad ahogan lo o entierranlo bibo diziendo/que asi es menester se haga porque estos esclauoss/que matan en la manera que emos dicho dizen / [40*a*] que son para que bayan al otro mundo a servir a/sus amos y aderesalles la comida, poniendo junto/con esto algunas ollas y platos debajo de las casas/con alguna comida colgados del enmaderamento/de la casa, diziendo que aquello es para que los difun-/tos coman. Y a los muy principales aconstumbran/enterrar los en vnos nauioos aquien llaman ba-/rangay con munchos esclauos suyos bibos y meti-/endo muncha comida bestidos y joyas diziendo que/los esclauos son para que les siruan como quando/andaban nauegando por la mar.

En las cosas de su comer no son nada curiossoss/porque no saben hazer guisados ni tienen en ello/alguna pulicia: su hordinaria comida es vn poco de/arroz cocido en agua tan solamente y un poco de pes-/cado seco al sol que guelenral [*sic*] y esto tienen por comida. Tanbien tienen algunas gallinas y puercos y benados/de que ay abundancia en las philippinas y bufanos que los ay en algunas partes de estas yslas,/muy grandes y feroses. Tienen bino de munchas/suertes porque le hazen de arroz de palmas de cocoss/y de platanos y de otro genero de palmas que se crian/en los lugares senagosos aquien llaman en su len-/gua nipa. Este es rrazonable bino y se enborrachan/ con el el que mas hordinariamente beben es el de/el arroz y llaman le pangasi.

Quando hazen amistad con los que tienen guerra/o con otros algunos aconstumbran sacar se vna/poca de sangre de los braços o de otra parte del cuerpo/y danla a beber a los que quieren ser sus amigos/y los otros hazen otro tanto y de esta

manera dizen/[40*b*] que queda El amistad y paz echa perfectamente/y que no se a de quebrantar.

Tanbien aconstumbran hacerse la dentatura/negra o morada haziendola muy de proposito de/esta manera con cierto çumio o yerba que para/esto aconstumbran traer en las bocas y algunos/traen los dientes engastados en oro; especialmente/traen en este las mugeres haziendo con el oro en la/dentadura vna faycion como al meninas tan/pulidamente asentadas en el mismo hueso del/mismo diente que no parace sino que alli en la dentadura/se nacio juntamente con ella; y ponen esto/de manera que nunca jamas se cae el oro. Ay entre ellos de este menester muy grandes y pulidos/oficiales.

No tienen genero de musica ni ynstrumento/della sino tan solamente vnas como guitarras/o rrabeles que tienen tres o quatro cuerdas de alam-/bre en las cuales tañen sin primor alguno ni con-/sierto. Vsan junto con esto algunas trompas echas/de cana que tañen con ellas de la misma manera/que nosotros con las trompas de paris ponien-/doselas en la boca y dando les con el dedo en/vna lengueta que tienen echa de la misma/cana. Esto solo tienen de musica y cuando ban/rremando en los nauios ban cantando acompas/como ban echando el rremo abezes apresurada-/mente y otras yendo mas despacio.

Ffinalmente aconstumbran en el pecado de/la carne vna cossa la mas nueba y nunca uista/[41*a*] ni oyda jamas, en la qual parece el guia del bicio/y bestialidad que en este particular tienen, la qual/es que los hombres se ponen en el miembro genital/y traen de hordinario en el vnas rrodajas o sortijas/con vnas puntas ala rredonda que salen de lass/mismas rrodajas o sortijas como de la fforma de/esta que esta en el margen, las quales hazen de/plomo o de estano y algunas ay de oro. Tienen echos/de sagujeros en la parte que haze el rredondo la sor-/tija o rrodaja, vno por la parte de arriba y otro por la/parte de abajo por donde entra o meten vn pernete/o clauo del mismo metal que es la cortija que atra-/biesan el miembro del hombre por el nacimiento del/prepacio, y asi queda la rrodaja o sortija puesta en/el mismo miembro genital de la misma mane-/ra como quando se pone una sortija en el dedo; y asi/tienen acceso con las mugeres y estan todo/vn dia o vna noche pegados y asidos el vno con el/otro de la manera que quedan los perros. Quando/acauan de hazer semejante acto, sintiendo en esto/gran delectacion mayormente las mugeres. Ay al-/gunas de estas ay algunas de estas [*sic*] rrodajas o/sortijas que son muy grande

tienen mas de treynta/suertes dellas y de cada suerte tienen su nombre/diferente y el general de todas es en su lengua/sacra. An tenido muy especial cuidado los espa-/ñoles despues que estan entre estas gentes de/quitar esta abobinable y bestial constumbre/y an quitado munchas de ellas a los naturales/y castigado los con acotes porque las traen y con todo/esto no aprovecha nada porque las traen y hazen/[41*b*] muy de hordinario traen el peinete lo clauo que/entra por los agujeros de la rrodaja o sortija y por/el miembro del hombre continuamente puesto/ en el mismo miembro, porque el agujero no se/cierre o porque al tiempo de poner la sortija o rrodaja/no les de pesadumbre; constumbre ynbentado por/el dimonio para que con ella los hombres ofen-/dan mas a dios nro señor en este uicio.

Esto que hasta aqui emos scripo. Son los rrictos y/serimonias vsos y constumbres que los bisayas y/gentes que auitan en las yslas philipinas del/poniente emos sauido, y esto de las personas mas/biejas y principales que ay en ellas porque son/ los que mejor las sauen por ynformacion bo-/cal de sus pasados que de vnos en otros a benido de/tiempo ymemorial, y lo cantan en sus cantares/donde dan a entender su principio y cuentan sus/gerras y todas las demas cosas que emos dicho;/ ensene sino son sus cantares aquien ellos/en su lengua llaman porque no tienen otra scriptura ni cosa que se lo/diga, ni biaus.

CONSTUMBRES Y VSOS DE MOROS DE/LAS PHILIPINAS YSLAS DEL PONIENTES

Los que llaman moros en las yslas del poniente no es/porque sean moros ni guarden los rrictos ni serimonias/de mahoma, porque no lo son, ni tienen ninguna cossa/de moro, sino solo el nombre; sino porque luego/que aqui llegamos los españoles nos parecio que/[42*a*] eran moros y que tenian algunos rrictos de mahoma/porque hallaron dello munchas muestras entre ellos,/ a causa que benian a estas yslas los naturales de/la ysla de borney a tratar y contratar. Y estos de borney/son moros como los de berberra y guardan la seta de/mahoma, la cual comensauan a enseñar a los de las philipinas/y asi comensauan a tener algunas cosas/della como era el rretajarse y no comer carne de puerco/y otras cosillas de la ley de mahoma: de esta suerte y/de aqui se les bino a poner el nombre de moros; que/ tienen mas ellos son rrealmente gentiles y tie-/nen casi las mismas constumbres y modas de bibir/que los bisayas, aunque en lo

de la criacion del mun-/do y de los hombres lo sienten de otra manera que/ellos, porque tienen muncha mas lumbre de razon/ natural y mas bibos y sutiles yngenios; y asi rri-/gen sus cosas por mejor horden y concierto que no los/bisayas; y porque todo lo digamos pasa de esta manera/tienen los moros de las philipinas que el mundo/tierra y cielo y todas las demas cosas que en ellos ay;/fueron criadas y echas por vn dios tan solamente/ al cual dios llaman en su lengua Bachtala/napal nanca calgna salahat, que quiere dezir/dios criador y sonseruador de todas las cosas y por/otro nombre le llaman Mulayri. Dizen que este/ su dios esta en el ayre antes que vbiese cielo ni ti-/erra ni las demas cosas, y que fue abeterno y no echo/ni criado de nadie ni por nadie y que el solo hizo y crio/todo lo que emos dicho por sola su boluntad que-/riendo hacer vna cosa tan hermosa como el cielo y la/[42*b*] y la tierra y que hizo y crio de la tierra vn hombre/y vna muger de los quales decienden y bienen todos/ los hombres y generaciones dellos que ay en el mundo.

Y dizen mas que quando sus antepasados tuuieron/noticias de este dios que es el que elos tienen por/el mas principal que fue por vnos hombres profe-/tas cuyos nombres no sauen dezir, porque como no/tienen scriptura que se lo ensene, se an oluidado/de los nombres propios de estos profetas mas lo que/dellos sauen es que en su lengua les llaman tagapag-/basa nan sulatan a dios; que quiere dezir declaradores/de los scriptos de dios; por los quales supieron de este/su dios diziendoles lo que emos dicho de la criacion/del mundo y de los hombres y de lo demas. A este pues/adoran y rreberencian en sus entendimientos/y en ciertas juntas que hazen en sus casas porque/no tienen templos para esto, ni los aconstumbran/donde hazen vnos conuites y borracheras donde co-/men y beben muy esplendidamente; te-niendo/presentes a esto vnas personas a quien en su lengua/ llaman catolonas que son como sacerdoctes.

Y de estos ay hombres y mugeres lo que dizen que/hazen, es dezir ciertas oraciones o palabras se-/cretas, o con alguna ofrenda de comida o be-/bida, pidiendo lo que tenga por bien que haga a- quello que le espedido por la persona que haze a-/quel sacrificio; echando juntamente con esto/ciertas suertes que tambien aconstumbran/con vnos huesos o quentas; que para esto tienen/[43*a*] de rrespecto los quales catolonas o sacerdotes lle-/ban cierta paga por hazer este sacrificio.

Tienen asi mismo otros munchos dioses que dizen les/sirben para otra cosa particular los quales dizen/que sus antepasados

ynbentaron y hizieron, diziendo/tener dellos necesidad como es el dios que lla-/man Lacanbaco al qual tienen por dios de loss frutos de la tierra, y hazen para quando esto lo an me-/nester vn conbite y borracheras en las sementera/en vna rramada que alli hazen para este efecto;/en la qual ponen vna manera de altar y en el/ponen vna estatua de palo que dizen que es el dios/ Lacanbaco con los dientes y ojos de oro y la natura/dorada y del tamaño que quieren se, sea la espiga de/sus arrozes y tiene el cuerpo todo gueco. Y alli ala/rredonda se ponen a comer y banquetear los que/hazen el sacrificio y lo mandan hazer que los/ que lo hazen son los sacerdoctes que emos dicho/los quales meten al dios Lacanbaco de aquello/que alli comen en la boca y le dan a beber de la be-/bida que tienen y diziendo algunas palabras/ supesticiosas tienen por cierto que les a de dar muy/buenos y cumplidos frutos de lo que le piden.

Tienen otro que dizen que es dios de los camposs/y montes al qual llaman Oinon sana y al/qual hazen sacrificios por los mismos sacer-/doctes lamados catolonas de algunas comi-/das y dizen algunas palabras quando esto ha-/zen pidiendole a este dios que quando anden en/los campos y montes no les hagan mal ni dan/ [43*b*] ninguno diziendo que es poderoso para hazer les/mal y daño y porque no se lo haga. Le hazen este/sacrificio y conbite por tenello grato y proficio/e a este mismo le tienen y temen muncho.

Tienen otro llamado Lacapati al qual le hazen/los mismos sacrificios de comida y palabras/pidiendole agua para sus sementeras y para que/les de pescado quando ban a pescar a la mar, di-/siendo que si esto no hazen que no an de tener/agua para sus sementeras ni menos quando/vayas a pescar an de tomar pescado ninguno.

Tienen otro aquien llaman hayc. Este tie-/nen por dios de la mar al qual hazen tanbien/sacrificio de banquetes y comida por los mismos/sacerdoctes, pidiendole que quando fueren nabe-/gando por la mar les libre de tormentas y bo-/rrascas que les de buenos tiempos y sosegadoss/bientos, teniendo que para todo esto es poderoso.

Tienen tanbien a la luna por dios al qual/adoran y rreberencian todas las vezes que es nueba,/pidiendole que les de uida y rriquezas porque creen/y tienen por cierto que se las puede dar muy compli-/damente y alargalles la uida.

Tienen tanbien a sus abuelos por dioses, dizi-/endo que estan en el ayre mirando siempre por/ellos y que las enfermedades que

tienen se/las dan o se las quitan sus abuelos y asi les/hazen munchos banquetes y borracheras/[44*a*] por los mismos sacerdoctes quando estan enfer-/mos y auiendo rrogado el sacerdocte por la salud/del enfermo, estando munchos presentes, a esto/ toma el mismo sacerdocte vn buyo que es cierta/comida de vna bellota que ay en las philipinas y/vna oja arrebuelta en la bellota que de hordina-/rio la andan mascando todos los de estas yslas,/porque es buena para el estomago y dentadura y/vntan con aquello mascado a todos los que se ha-/llan presentes a este sacrificio para que no les de/aquella enfermedad que el enfermo tiene y con/esto tienen que sus abuelos les da salud en sus/ enfermedades.

Tienen otros rritos y agueros, como es si suenan/algun sueño que no les benga aproposito de/lo que quieren hazer quando quieren yr fuera de/sus casas a alguna parte, o estornudan o oyen can-/tar vn pajaron aquien ellos llaman bactala, o a-/trabesar por delante dellos algun rraton v otras a-/bandija quando quieren yr camino o estando en sus/casas para yr a ello, se buelben y en tres dias no/tornan a yr a aquella parte o camino que querian/ hazer y pasados buelben a hazer su camino. Y si/acaso alguna cosa de estas que emos dicho les su-/cede en el camino o en qualquier parte del dan/la buelta a sus casas entendiendo que no les/a de suceder bien aquello que ban a hazer. Y si ban/a la guerra hazen lo mismo que emos dicho de los/bisayas; y lo proprio es en el juramento que ha-/zen y dizen las mismas palabras que diximos/en lo [44*b*] de los bisayas avnque demas dellas tienen/los moros vnos ydolillos pequeños que tienen/en la mano quando hazen el juramento, el/quales de barro o metal y muy feo quitado al-/gun miembro del. Llaman le a este çumpa/en el cual juran diziendo estas palabras mas/que las que emos dicho yo metorne como este/çumpa sino es verdad lo que aqui digo; teniendo por creydo que si dizen mentira a de çuçeder luego lo que dizen que les benga por el juramento/fuera de este juramento. Quando quieren averiguar/la uerdad entre ellos que sea muy cierta lo que/dizen hazen esto: que se ban a vn rrio y alli en/ lo hondo del agua toman cada uno vna asta de/palo en las manos y dejanse yr de bajo del agua/diziendo que el que mas espacio de tiempo estuuiere/debajo dellas sin rresollar aquel dize uerdad. Y asi/a vn tiempo se dejan yr y meten debajo del agua,/y el que esta mas ese dizen que dize uerdad y alcança/ justicia, y el otro se da y queda por condenado de lo/que le piden o pide; y esta es la mas evidente/prueba de dezir uerdad que ay entre ellos.

No tienen rrey entre ellos ni persona diputa-/das para que administre justicia, ni cosas de/rrepublica sino que en esto hazen lo mismo/que los bisayas, que los que son principales hazen lo que quieren quitando y dando las/haziendas a quien y mejor les parece por muy/poca ocacion, avnque es verdad que son los moros/[44(=45)*a*] mas llegados a rrazon y tienen mas concierto y puli-/cia en sus cosas y mejor modo de bibir y en todas/las cosas de rrazon les hazen bentaja. Tienen me-/jores casa y edificios y con mas concierto avnque/tambien estan en lugares senagosos y orillas/de rrios. Andas los moros bestidos de rropa de/algodon y no desnudos como los bisayas. Sus/bestidos son vnas de chamarretas o salta en baicas/escotadas y sin cuellos y con sus mangas y sus sa-/raque les biene echos avnque tanbien traen de la/cintura abajo vnas mantas muy bien pues-/tas con que traen las carnes tapadas hasta la rro-/dilla, porque de alli para bajo traen las piernas/de fuera poniendose de las pantorrillas hasta/las rrodillas munchas, como cadenetas me-/nudas echas de açofar que ellos llaman bitiques;/y esto lo traen los hombres tan solamente teni-/endo lo por muncha gala. Traen asi mismo munchas/cadenas de oro al cuello mayormente si son prin-/cipales, porque esto es de lo que mas se precian y ay/algunos que traen de estas cadenas mas de diez y/doze de ellas. En la caueça traen vnas toquillas/puestas que no son anchas ni largas que no dan/mas que vna buelta a la cabeça y con vn nudo/en ellas. No tienen el cabello largo porque se lo/cortan como en espana. Se aconstumbran no traen/barba ninguna ni se la dexan crecer avnque son/todos en general mas barbados y la que les sale/se la pelan muy deproposito y los bisayas hazen/lo mismo. Los moros traen tan solamente bigotes/[44(=45)*b*] que esto no se pelan y los dexan creser todo lo que/pueden. Los bisayas en ninguna manera no acons-/tumbran traer calcado ninguno ni traen las/orejas abiertas los hombres como hazen loss/bisayas: las mugeres si en ellas munchas joyas/de oro porque son mas rricas que no las bisayas;/y tanbien vsan nombres y mugeres traer mun-/chas manillas y axorcas de oro en los braços. / En las piernas no las aconstumbran. Y las mugeres/traen tambien al cuello las mismas cadenas de oro/que traen los hombres. Los moros no se pintan nin-/guna cosa de su cuerpo. En le lengua ay alguna di-/ferencia avnque todos se entienden muy bien/porque es como castellana y portuguesa y aun mas/semejable. Son muy amigos de mercar y uender/y de tener contrataciones vnos con otros y asi son/grandes mercar-

delejos y buscauidas y muy sutiles/en su manera de tratar. Y son grandes amigos de/buscar a ganar dinero y lo procuran aver por todas/las vias que pueden para ganarlo. Son amigos de/seruir a los españoles y asi siruen por meses.

Cuentan el año por lunas y es de vna cosecha a otra. / Tienen ciertos carates que les siruen de letras/con los quales escriuen lo que quieren. Son de muy/diferente echura de los demas que sauemos hasta/oy. Las mugeres comunmente sauen escriuir/ con ellos y quando escriuen es sobre ciertas ta-/blillas echas de cañas, de los que ay en aquellas/yslas, ensima de la cortesa. El uso de la tal tabilla/que es de ancho quatro dedos, no escriven con tinta/[46*a*] sino con vnos punçones con que rrompen la tez y/corteza de la cana, y contener letras. No tienen libros/ ni ystorias ni escriuen cosa que sea de tomo sino sola-/mente cartas y rrecaudos vnos a otros. Y para esto so-/lamente se siruen de estas letras las quales son so-/lamente diez y siete. Es cada letra vna silaba y con/ciertos pantillos que les ponen a vn lado o a otro de/la letra o a la parte de arriba o a la de abajo, hazen/dicion y escriuen y dizen con esto lo que quieren. / Y es muy facil de deprender por queriendose dar a ello/alguna persona en poco mas de dos meses se deprende. / No son muy prestos en el escriuir porque lo hazen/muy despacio. Y lo mismo es en el leer que es como/quando deletrean los muchachos en la escuela./ Sus pueblos tanbien les asientan y pueblan en/partes cenagosas y donde ay agua e rrios como los/bisayas porque se aconstumbran banar de la / misma manera dos otros vezes al dia. Tienen en/ellos mas concierta y pulicia ansi en los edifi-/cios como en lo demas que los bisayas aunque/tanbien ay arboles y palmas de cocos en las/calles. Ay en los moros los mismos oficiales de/carpinteros, herreros y plateros y mas oficiales/de hazer y fundir artilleria de bronze que tan-/bien la vsan, y tenian al tiempo que los espa-/ñoles entraron en las philipinas donde ellos/estaban agora no la tienen, porque se la an/quitado los españoles era toda piqueria, por/que lo mas que tenian hera algunos falcones y/muncha berseria; pieças grandes no las tenian, / [46*b*] ni hacian, avnque agora las sauen muy bien hazer/y ffundir. No comen carne de puerco como emoss/dicho porque esto se les pego de los moros mahometa-/nos de borney que benian a tratar con ellos con/otras cosas de la seta de mahoma que les enseñaban. Comen carne de cabra bufana y gallinas y patos que/todo esto crian y tienen. Las bisayas no comen la/ carne de cabra y los vnos y los otros no comen quesso/ni leche

porque lo tienen por cosa muy asquerosa. / Hazen munchas borracheras de hordinario por-/que esta es su principal fiesta y el hazer pele-/ar los gallos como diximos. En lo de los bisayas/ el bino que beben es el que sacan y hazen de las/palmas de cocos luego que lo cojan fresco de las/palmas que es dulce y como mosta de vbas; lla-/manle en su lengua tupa. El bestido de las mugeres/no estan galano ni pulido como el de las bisayas/porque se ponen vnas manta de algodon o de ta-/ffetan rrebueltas al cuerpo con muy poca pulicia. Los jubones y corpesuelos que traen son de la misma/ffaycion que diximos ser las de los bisayas. Y tan-/bien traen el bestido arrayz de las carnes pareciendo/ se les por la cintura y pechos porque no usan camisas/ningunas ni calçado. Las que son principales/aconstumbran quando ban ffuera de sus casas/que sus esclauos les lleben en los hombres y de/esta manera ban por todas las calles. Lleban to-/das encima del uestido vnas mantas pequeñas/que les llegan a la cintura poco mas son de algodon/y de colores y algunas ay de tafetan rrazo y damasco/ [47*a*] de lo que bine de la china. En lo de los casa-mientoss/hazen lo mismo que los bisayas y ni mas ni menoss/en lo de los esclauos y en el hazer amistades con/sus enemigos y con los que bienen a sus pueblos. / Tanbien aconstumbran a traer la dentadura negra/o morada y para ello hazen lo que diximos que ha-/zen los bisayas porque lo tienen por gala. No tienen/ genero de musica sino tan solamente las guitarras/que diximos que tienen los bisayas en las quales/tanen con mas primor que los bisayas, y especial-/mente las tanen mugeres y se entiende por el son/que con ellas hazen como si estuuiesen hablando./ Y asi munchas vezes esta vna en su casa y algun/enamorado suyo en otra casa alli cerca donde se/puedan oyr las guitarras tanen con ellas y se estan/rrequebrando diziendo por lo que tanen, lo que quieren/y asi se entienden. Y esto no lo sauen hazer todos por-/que se deprende y enseña entre ellos de la manera que/en españa la serigonza de los ciegos. Quando se muere/ alguno hazian vn ataud de madera en que lo meten/y lababanle el cuerpo y ponianle algunos yn-/guentes olorosos con que se le vntan poniendolos/en el ataud algunas mantas y no otra cosa, y en-/tierran el ataud debajo de tierra. No meten oro/ninguno ni joyas como los bisayas consigo y des-/pues los moros que quedan bibos deudos del difunto/ayunan vn año arreo sin comer mas que yerbas o/frutas silbestres y plantanos y no otra cosa y esto/llaman ellos magarahe. Tanbien lo hazen/los bisayas mas no lo hazen tanto tiempo. El/moro que muere ponen le dentro

dela; sepoltan vn es-/ [47*b*] clabo suyo al qual meten bibo debajo del ataud/a la parte que esta la cabeça del difunto para que en/ el otro mundo le sirua. En el heredar las haziendas de/sus padres tienen parte todos los hijos avnque sean bas-/tardos o adulteros avnque no en tanta cantidad e parte/como los ligitimos. Casanse con todos sus parientes/ecepto con hermanos. No aconstumbran adormir en/camas porque en esto hazen lo mismo que emos dicho/de los bisayas. Tienen tanbien por afrenta las que/no son casadas de parir y matan las criaturas como las/ bisayas avnque las que son casadas no se afrentan/de parir munchas vezes; antes lo tienen por bueno/y asi no procuran mal parir ni matar las criaturas/como diximos que hazian las bisayas casadas. Son generalmente todas muy biciosas en la carna-/lidad y muy ynteresales y hazen lo demas que/las bisayas. Puedense casar con las mugeres que qui-/sieren estando bibas y hazerlas mismas cosas que/diximos hazen los bisayas en este particular guar-/dan la misma horden quando se casan. Tienen tan-/bien munchas suertes de nauios y con muy di-/fferentes nombres que les siruen asi para sus con-/trataciones como para las gerras y son casi de/la misma suerte que los que tienen los bisayas/avnque no tan buenos ni pulidos.

Aconstumbras las mugeres traer en la caueça/sobre el cauello que lo traen suelto vnas como di-/ademas echas de oro y esto los que son principales/porque las que no lo son las traen de concha de/tortuga. Son muy galanas. Tienen tanbien entre si/[48*b*] estos moros muchas guerras y diferencias con loss/pueblos sus comarcanos y con otros en los quales/hazen las mismas cosas que emos dicho de los bi-/sayas. Y vsan e traen las mismas armas y los mas principales hazen todo lo que quieren sin auer quien les/baya a la mano en nada.

Esto es lo que aconstumbran los moros y bisayas de las yslas philipinas y lo que dellos hasta ora emos sauido.

[59*a*] RELACION DE LOS RRICTOS Y SERIMO-/NIAS GETILESAS DE LAS/YSLAS PHILIPINAS.

Avnque es uerdad que en estas yslas de lucon panay y/çoebu ay ynfinidad de lenguas vnas diferentes de/otras y por el consiguiente diferentes trages vnos bar-/barisimos y otros de mediano entendimiento y otros de/muy mas claro, en lo que toca a rritos y serimonias gen-/tileças casi todos concuerdan y si en algunas partes/difieren en algo estan poca la diferencia que seria yn-

conuiniente/tratar de cada nacion de estos de por si y asi de/ todas ellas se haze un epiligo.

Quanto a lo primero es de notar que estas gentes tenian/y rreuerenciauan un dios hazedor de todas las cosas que/vnos le llaman bathala otros molaiari otros dioata/y avnque confiesan a este dios por hazedor de todas las cosas/ni sauen ni tienen noticia quando ni como la hizo ni paraq/y que su morada es en el cielo.

Siempre an tenido y tienen conocimento de que tienen/alma y que esta apartada del cuerpo ba a cierto lugar que/vnos llaman casan y otras maca. Este dizen esta diuidido/en dos poblaçones grandes con vn braço de mar en medio el/utro dizen es para las almas de los nauegantes y estos an-/dan uestidos de blanco y es otro para todos los demas los que/les andan uestidos de colorado por mas priminencia. Dizen/que las almas que auitan en estos lugares mueren siete/vezes y otras cantas bueluen a rresucitar y que pasan los pro-/pias trauajos y miserias que pasauan en este mundo en sus/cuerpos pero que tienen poder para quitar y dar salud y que para/el efecto biene por los ayres y por esta causa rreueren-/cian pidiendo ayuda haziendo borracheras solen de comer/puercos gallinas y los mejores manjares y guisados que/a su modo pueden juntanse los parientes y vezinos cantan/dansan y baylan al son de a tanbores y campanas/estruende de palmadas y gritos ponen altar con [*illegible*]/adornado de los mejores mantas y preseas de oro que tienen [*illegible*]/ofrecen de toda al anito que asi le llaman al al maguan/la ynbocan vntanse con la sangre de lo que an muertos./ [59*b*] Mer en ciertas partes del cuerpo teniendo que aquello/les a de ser causa de salud y larga uida y todo esto adminis-/tra vn sacerdocte uestido en auito de muger. Le llaman/bayog o bayoguin outra muger del propio oficio que lla-/man catolonan y esta fiesta se biene a fenecer quedando/todos borrachos o la mayor parte y a esto llaman los yn-/dios maganito y pues esta dicho de lo que es maganito. / Digamos de los sacerdoctes y sacerdoctisas que tienen y lo/que es anejo a sus oficios y luego consecutiuamente los/rrictos y serimonias que en cosas particulares tienen y/vsan los yndios.

Aunque estos yndios no tienen templos tienen sacerdoc-/tes y sacerdoctisas los quales son los principales maestras/de sus serimonias rrictos y agueros y aquien en todos los/negocios de ynportancia todos se encomiendan pagando/les muy bien su trauajo. Ellos hordinariamente en tra-/je mugeril su modo me-

lindre y menios estan cifeminado que/quien no los conoce jusgara ser mugeres. Casi todos son ynpoten-/tes para el acto de la generacion y asi se casan con otro ba-/ron y duermen juntos como marido y muger y tienen sus actos/carnales y finalmente son sometico estos se llaman bayog/o bayoguin. Las sacerdoctisas hordinariamente son biejas/y estas es su oficio curar enfermos o con palabras supers-/tisiosas o asistiendo en las borracheras ynbocando las/almas de sus ante-pasados para el fin que pretenden y hazien-/do las serimonias que adelante se ueran. El oficio de los/ sacerdoctes es acudir a todas las necesidades, en general a-/cudiendo a ynbocar lo que las sacerdoctisas avnque con mas/serimonias, mas/pompa y mas auturidad. Ay tambien otro ge-/nero destos a quien llaman catolonan el oficio de los qua-/les es el proprio de los sacerdotisas y estos ni ellas son de tan-/ta auturidad como los que andan en auito de muger. Finalmente los unos ni los otros son echiseros y quanto hazen/o es con echiserias o engaños para uasiar los bolsas del/pueblo ynorante.

Estando enfermos vsan de muncho generos de rrictos vnas/ [60*a*] con mas aparato y otros con menos segun la calidad de cada/vna, porque la gente principal hordinariamente hazen maga-/nitos o borrachera solene de la onanera que atras se a dicho/asistiendo vn sacerdocte o mas, el qual ynboca sus anitos y dizen/que bienen y que los sircunstantes oyen un rruydo como de fla-/uta que segun dizen los sacerdoctes es el anito que habla y/dize que el enferno terna salud y con esto se prosigue la fiesta/con gran jubilo. Y si el enfermo mure auiendo dicho el anito/que tendra salud da por escusa el sacerdocte la uoluntad de su a-/nito fue buena pero que otros anitos de mas poder lo estoruaron/otros. Ay que ensienden vn hacho de sacate y lo echan por la uen-/tana diziendo que con aquello espantan a los malos anitos/causadores de la enfermedad y que con esto se uan. Otros echan/suertes teniendo colgado de la mano vn pedaço de palo atado en/vn hilo o un colmillo de cayman y ellos propios lo menean/diziendo quien es la causa de la enfermedad de fulano es fu-/lano o no es fulano no es sutano pas quien fulano si hablan-/do consigo propios los que esto hazen y enderesando la suerte/que menean con su mano aquien les parece, de modo que se ue/euidentemente ser pancina del que esto haze y con todo no se/persuaden asi e aquelo es sino que es aquello cierto. Otros q./no tienen tanto caudal y costilla para gastar ofrecen un poco de/arroz cocido y un

poco de pescado y uino pidiendo salud al anito/otras con mediana borrachera ofrecen al anito y asiste vna/sacerdoctisa o vn sacerdote de los ynfermos que llaman ca-/tolonan y estas administran lo necesario y dizen que la causa/de la enfermedad del enfermo es que el alma se le a ydo y que/hasta boluersela al cuerpo no sanara. Y luego le rruega el en-/fermo que de horden como se le buelua y para esto les pagan ade-/lantado conforme se concierta y luego el catolonan se pone solo/a vn rrincon hablando entre si y acauo de vn rrato se llega al/enfermo y le dize que se alegre que ya tiene el alma en el cuerpo/y que sanara y con esta hazen su borrachera y si el enfermo mu-/ere nunca le faltan escusas para desculparse y en estas borra-/cheras calientan agua con la qual se lauan la cara todos/ sanos y enfermos diziendo que aquello precorva de enfer-/ medad y alarga la uida.

[60*b*] Lo mas general en estas yslas es enterrar luego sin dila-/cion los muertos aunque no a todos se les haze ygual/ pompa, porque la gente es mmd. No haze mas de amorta-/jar con una manta blanca al difunto y enterrar lo/o junto a su casa o a su sementera y luego hazer vna/borrachera y con esto concluyen. Pero los principales/los amortajan con las mas rricas mantas de seda/que tienen y lo echan en un ataud de madera yncorru-/ptible y dentro echan algun oro conforme a la posi-/blidad del muerto y entierranlo debajo de vna casa/ que para el efecto tienen echa, donde se entierra toda/la parentela y sercan la sepoltura con cortinas y/tienen sobre la sepoltura lampara ensendida y/comida que ofrecen al muerto y estotura confor-/me la personaes y asgunas vezes pasa de tres o qua-/tro años y aun ponen vna muger v hombre que este/de guardia todo este tiempo. En algunas partes ma-/tan esclauos y los entierran con sus amos para que/tengan quien les sirua en la otra uida, y pasa a/tanta desuentura esto que munchos arman vn/barco con mas de sesenta esclauos y lo cargan de/comida y beuida y meten dentro a el muerto y a el/y a todo el barco con todos los esclauos bibos lo en-/tierran debajo de tierra y hazen las obsequias/beuiendo mas de vn mes. Otros ay que tienen el/difunto en casa se yso siete dias para que destile el/xugo que tiene y en el ynterin con toda aquella/hediondez estan beuiendo que nunca paran y lue-/go le quitan la carne de los guesos y la echan a/la mar, y los huesos los guardan en vna tinaxa. / Y acauo de munchisimo tiempo si les parecelos/entierran con tinaxa y todo, y sino dexan/los

estar en casa. Pero la cosa de mas asco y orror/hazen es que en metiendo los huessos/ [61*a*] en la tierra y con ella beuen siruiendoles de tasa/y esto es en lo que llaman batan hasta mariueles. / Otros ay que no entierran los muertos sino los lle-/ban a un serro y allo los arrojan y luego se bienen/huyendo aporfia porque tienen que el que quedare/postrero morira y por esta rrazon ay pocos que se atre-/uan a lleuar los y los que se atreuen es porque se lo/pagan muy bien. Quando los lleuan a enterrar no los/sacan por la puerta principal si no por una uentana/y si los sacan las sierran luego y la mudan a otra/ parte porque tienen los que pasar en por donde el mu-/erto pasa moriran. Lloran a los muertos no solo en/casa pero por el camino quando los lleuan a enterrar/diziendo endechas en las quales publican las azañas/y uirtudes del difunto lo qual mas parece canto que/llanto por lo muncho que gargantean y en-toiran/la uoz casi lo mas sin lagrimas que para este efecto/ buscan de yntento personas los sauen hazer y ca-/si lo tienen por oficio. Donde muere principal nin-/guno del pueblo a cantar entañer genero de ynstru-/mento de rregozijo ni aun los que pasan en barcos/por su puerta sograuise mas penas.

Los generos de lutos que estos tienen por sus difun-/tos es abstenerse de comer arroz tantos años como/sacodio de docte y esto es quando a los casados por/sus mugeres que los demas cada uno dexa comerlo. / Conforme lo que sintio la muerte o la falta que/le haze el difunto el biudo se mete dentro vna/ cortina si es principal y en quatro dias no come cosa/ninguna por que dizen que si esto no hiziese se tor-/naria loco y en todo este tiempo anda vn sacerdocte/baylando al rrededor cantando. Y si el muerto tenia/esclauos y sus parientes los tienen todos los ponen todos los rrapan/a nauaja por luto y todas los parientes varones/[61*b*] hazen lo propio y las parientas cortan parte de los/cauellos y no todos no se uisten de seda ni se a-/dornan con oro los parientes muncho tiempo. / Ponense los uarones en algunas partes collares de/vejucos y ellas en las muñecas y no se bañan ni quitan/el luto hasta matar alguna persona y entonces/se lo quitan y hazen borrachera solene y ban fue-/ra los lutos.

Las mugeres que desean enprenarse crian puercos/rregala-disimamente dando les a comer de los/manjares mas gustosos que ay y desde entonces/los dedican para sacrificarlos al anito en pariendo/y tienen tanta confiança en que criandolo se an de en-/prenar que es cosa particular. En enpreñandose no se/

quita el marido el cauello hasta que la muger pare/teniendo que si antes se le quita la criatura no sal-/dra a luz avnque esto no es en todas partes sino/en algunas.

En pariendo la muger no consienten en algunas/partes que muelan arroz debajo la casa sino le-/xos della porque tienen que si del arroz que salta/de los pilones comer las gallinas morira la/criatura. Hazen maganito en pariendo juntandose/en el toda la parentela y venzidad. Comen con gran/contento el puerco que criaron rregalado para el/efecto y todos se untan con la sangre del y untan-/do a la criatura y bañan con agua al rrezien nacido/y a la parida y tienen particular cuidado de pagar a las/ parteras porque tienen que si no les contentan/saldra la criatura llorona y las parteras quando/hazen su oficio hazen oracion a la primera partera/vbo en el mundo a la qual no conocen ni sauen/quienes diziendo: o tu primera partera cuyo ofi [*sic*]/por tu boluntad agora hago dame ffauor/ [62*a*] para que mediante mi ayuda salga a luz / esta criatura.

Todas las uezes que los principales comen ponen/en platillos en su propia mesa deporsi de todo lo/que comen y beben por ofrenda a los anitos y al/molayare o batala criador de todas las cossas y del/arroz v otro qualquier fruto nueuo. No co-nuidan/a nadie ni la rropa nueua no consienten que otro/la estiene porque tienen que haziendo lo an de padesca/ffalta de aquella cosa.

No consienten que en la criua donde criuan el arroz/nadie coma cosa, porque tienen que el que comere/se morira o se boluera loco.

Quando lluebe con sol y el sielo esta algo bermejo/dizen que los anitos se juntan a dalles guerra y/estan y con grandisimo temor y ni mugeres ni niños/consienten que abajen de las casas hasta que es campo/y el sielo se pone claro.

Quando la tierra tiembla dizen que los anitos lo/hazen y por esto todos dan a la ydos y golpes en las/casas haziendo muncho estruendo diziendo que con/aquello se espantan los anitos y cesa el temblor. / Quando caçan tienen por aguero de que no cojeran/nada nombrando qualquier cosa tocante a la/ pesqueria y pescando sin nombrar qualquier cosa/de caça lo propio.

Quando ban camino por alguna tierra tienen mun-/chos agueros. En algunas partes ay vn pajaro/azul colorado y negro que llaman que llaman [*sic*]/batala; ese nombre quiere dezir

dios y asi dizen/los yndios que este nombre le es ynproprio por/que ellos no lo tienen por dios sino por vn mensa-/jero suyo que con su canto da a entendir a los ombres/[62*b*] la voluntad del mesmo batala que es dios, y/que por esto quando ban camino y oyen el canto/de este pajaro, o se paran o bueluen o prosiguen/ su uiaje conforme lo que an entendido del canto/del pajaro. Si estornada algo v oyen cantar la-/gartija v atrauesar el camino alguna culebra/se bueluen del camino diziendo que tanbien/son aquellas señales que dios les enbia para/declararles que no es su boluntad que pasen ade-/lante y que si pasaren los a de suceder mal.

El primero dia que parece la luna nueua la/adoran y le piden mercedes vnos que les de pare/muncho oro, otros que les de muncho arroz, o-/tros que les de muger hermosa, v marido gentilhom-/bre y bien acondicionado y rrico, otros que les de sa-/lud y larga uida, y finalmente cada uno le pide/ aquello que mas apetese.

Yendo por agua al rrio o en barco hazen oracion/al cayman pidiendole que se baya a lo hondo/y no les atemorize ni haga mal que ellos no son/sus enemigos ni pretenden su daño sino que/antes buscan su provecho que alla se lo aya/con sus enemigos; llamanle abuelo y dizen/que son sus parientes y otras bouerias a este/tono. Otros le ponen ofrenda de comida orilla/ el rrio y tienen particular cuydado en esto y de/todo no pretenden del mas de que no les haga/daño y si acaso los que ban en barco lo ben andar/encima del agua lo tienen por mal aguero/y se paran hasta uer otro aguero bueno para/pasar adelante.

Creen en sueños y asi tienen cuenta enseñando/si el sueño es bueno o malo y si es bueno lo tie-/nen por buena señal y el malo por mala y siendo/ [63*a*] malo luego hazer maganitos ofrendas y ora-/ciones a su dios o anitos y estan tristes hasta que/ben aguero que les significa algun bien suyo en-/contra de lo que son.

Y a los tocados de yerua mortifera o ponsoña y/a los apostemados o enfermos de enfermedad/peligrosa los curan con palabras que solo en la/ysla de burney que guardan la seta mahometana/se entienden por ser hordenadas alli, y quando curan/juntamente con las palabras ban maxeando/vna yerna que llaman buyo y tienen tanta fee/con estas palabras los que curan y los curados que/es cosa marauillosa que en diziendo les dize luego/el enfermo que siente mejoria.

El azeyte de ajonjoli con que se curan le hacen/cierto conjuro amanera de uendicon con pala-/bras burneyas y este le guardan con muncho cuy-/dado para curar las enfermedades arriba dichas. / Vsan tanbien de estas palabras o conjuros para/hazer a los gallos balientes e ynbensibles.

Vsan asi mismo de algunos conjuros para sus a-/mores y que les quiera bien y que no les bean ni/sospechen dellos cosa los maridos de sus rreque-/bradas ni otra persona sino solos los que ellos/quieren y para ello traen scripto el conjuro consigo. / Vsan de yeruas que las personas las rrea ben/se aficion a la que lada y por el contiguo vsan/de otras que desaficionan.

Vsan denonimas supertiriacias [*sic*] vnas para no/ser uencidos en guerras, otras para no poder ser/presos, otras para hazerse ynbicibles, otras para/ser bien afortunados, otras para que no les llebo/el cayman, otras para hurtar a su salud, otras para [63*b*] tener larga uida, otra para que no les enpesa yer-/ba mortifera ni poncoña y para otras mill cosas. / Estas nominas vnas son con colmillos de cay-/man, otras con piedra de hombre, otras con caue-llos que dizen son de duende, otras con yeruá que a-/ficiona, otras con algun hueso o rrayz de albor. / Finalmente les echan mill y nicenciones a este/tono y en algunas traen conjuros en lengua bur-/neya y todo esto estiman en muncho.

Y quando hazen alguna casa antes de ponelle/el techo poner vn espantajo en lo mas alto della/para que el buho no se asiente encima, porque/tienen por aguero que los que en ella biben se/moriran. Y si en la casa donde biben se asienta o/entra dentro alguna golondrina y culebra o de-/xan la casa o hazen borrachera o maganito, por-/que temen que se moriran sino lo hazen.

Y quando hazen algun barco al tiempo que lo echan/al agua la primer vez sueltan vna flecha hazia el/cielo o un arcabuz diziendo que si aquello no hazen/la banca que asi la llaman no sera ligera. / Quanto hazen algun auio de los que andan/al nato mercader e ando al echarlo al agua hazen/lo propio que a los barcos y demas desto hazen bo-/rrachero pidiendo a sus dioses v a los anitos que/lo haya dichoso y que les de muncha ganancia en/sus mercancias.

Antes de sembrar sus mioses vnos hazen ma-/ganitos, otros ofrecen al anito pidiendole que a-/quella sementera benga aculmo y que no se/pierda y si despues padece la sementera algun/

trauajo de muncha agua o de poca y el arroz se/be perdiendo, tornan de nuebo a sus ofrendas/maganitos.

[64*a*] Y quando tienen alguna guerra antes de yr o entrar/ en ella hazen juntas y en ella tratan lo que an de hazer/y juntamente maganito general para que tengan/buen subceso. Siuen son entran con la presa en/su pueblo cantando cantos de victoria y hazen bo-/rrachera solemne y si son bencidos entran los que/quedaron con grandisima tristeza.

Y quando salen de prision v escapando algun trauajo/es cosa hordinaria hazer borrachera y ofrenda al anito/o asu dios juntandose a ella todos los parientes y/amigos con muncho rregozijo y contento.

Y quando los que se aman se apartan el que queda es/cosa hordinaria prometer al que se ba por tristeza/y en señal de amor dexara de comer cierta cosa, o que/no se mudara la rropa, o no se vestira de tal color, o/no dormira con cauesera, o en estera, o no se uañara/hasta que se tornen auer, y casi siempre lo cumplen.

Tienen por constumbre en esta tierra acerca de sus/casamiento que el uaron docta a la muger al/reues de nosotros y despues de auer dado el docte/hazen borrachera y para firmen del casamiento/juntan a los nouios dandoles de comer con vn plato/ y estando comiendo, o quando los juntan para esto,/llegan sus padres y dizen los que biben munchos años/y que se querian muncho y ala noche les lleuan a la/cama o la madre della o alguna uieja y alli los acues-/ta y cubre con una manta diziendo los palabras de/cho carreria, bajan al suelo de la casa y en derecho de/la cama de los nouios y nea de una estaca diziendo/ que aquello haze el nouio no asepto ypotente/para la copula. Y esto de la estaca no es en todas partes sino en algunas. Tienen asi mesmo por cons-/tumbre que el nouio de mas del docte queda dacieron/paga a cada una de los parientes mas cercanos della/ que es vn modo de coecha para que consientan al casa- / [64*b*] miento y sin esto y sin docte, son muy rraros los que/se casan por que ellas lo tienen por notable afrenta/avnque sea la mas uil y desastrada.

En esta tierra ay algunos hombres balientes aquien/los yndios llaman bayani y el llamarles de esta/nombre es por preminencia o dignidad. Estos seponen/en la cauesa cuernos de bufano de dos palmos/de largo cubiertos de chapas de oro, el oficio de los qua-/les es andarse como dizen en boda en boda baylan-/do y es de tal manera que qualquiera le conuida;/lo toma despues

por blaçon y fanfarria dezir que/hizo fiesta al bayani, y asi ninguno que tenga/mediana pasadia dexa de procurar de hazerle fiesta/para tomar este blazon, esto porque la costa de/ esta fiesta es muncha y no tienen todos costilla/para ello y como los rricos son exstimados y los/pobres desechados no amenester mas para estar en/fama de rrico que sauer que tubo costilla para hazer/fiesta al bayani. Y lo que pretenden del bayani/ por esta fiesta es que tienen les ara su dios buenos/por este medio y amados del pueblo.

Y ay tanbien brujas como en espana y nobrazos/los quales vsan munchas maldades y son temi-/das y rreuerenciadas y acuden todas a dar les lo que/piden por el miedo los tienen, y pues el oficio de las/brujas en todas partes es un onor y para que dezir a-/qui las cosas que hazen.

[65*a*] CONSTUMBRE DE MOROS

La gente de esta tierra nunca tuuieron rrey ni sus antepasados/dizen auello tenido. En cada pueblo auia tres o quatro principales/conformo era el pueblo y los que obedezian a estos eran sus escla-/vos que tenian obligacion de les obedecer por que no les seruian/dentro de sus casa sino de quando el principal fuese a la guerra/yr con sus armas y llebaban la comida de sus casas y si yban por/la mar abian de yr bogando estos. Tenian otras obligaciones que/despues se declararan y solo el principal y los yndios libres yban/sin bogar en el cuerpo del nauio y tanbien si algun esclabo yba alli q./fuese muy baliente le hazia el principal sentar con los yndios libres/y esta tenian por muy gran onrra. Sus gerras no son en campaña sino/ de enboscadas y albasos y trayciones. Tenian por armas para de-/fensa de sus cuerpos vna manera de coseletes de cuerno de bufano que/les cubria el pecho y estomago y no les llegaria al ombligo y por/detras el proprio lugar y esta arma traenla tan corta por andar mas/ligeras y encubrirse mejor con sus pauesas les llega hasta el pecho/y desbia de dos palmos y medio de ancho. Suelen traer algunos sayos q./les llega hasta la rrodilla sin mangas con muncho estofo de algo-/don y muy basteados. Suelen traer vnos tejidos de caña y en de les de poco/mas de vn palma ica ledi sinen selo ala capa que les da vna buelta./ Las armas que trayan eran paueses como e dicho y los que los trayan/trayan tanbien lanças arrofasisas los hierros de mas de vn palmo/y de tres o quatro pies de ancho. Traen algunas en los propios paueces en-/cajado vn cuchillo grande de mas de

tres palmos de larga y de tres o quatro/dedos de ancho. Son rretuertos. Traen esta arma para en haziendo el/golpe con la lança echar mano de este cuchillo y pelear con el las cu-/chillados a dar gandoso con su pabes y si llegan a los barcos traen/sus puñales en la cinta, de palmo y medio de largo y de quatro de doss/de ancho. Ay tanbien entre estos yndios algunos flecheros avnque/pocos, que estos no traen otra arma ofenciba sino su arco de palma/montezina negro con cuerdas de cascara de arbol. No traen mas de/cinco o seys flechas en la mano porque no vsan cartaj y su punal/cinta. Tienen estos yndios algunos bersos de amor cuando los burneys/y algunos que ellos hazien en la tierra con metal que le estryan los/[65*b*] y estos los llebauan en los nauios quando yban por la mar, y quando/los abian de disparar nos auian hazer punteria con ellos sino poni-/an los en la proa y pegaban les fuego.

Si trayan alguna caueça entraban en el pueblo con gran rrego-/cijo y hazian borrachera dos y tres dias. Tienen obligacion todos los/esclauos de los principales que se llaman alipe namanahe, quiere/dezir propiamente esclabo que bibe de porsi. Estos tienen munchas/obligaciones y aqui tienen esta que an de acudir cada esclauo con/vn tibor de quilan que es echa de canas duses; es bebida que ellos/vsan della. Y tanbien acudian con tantas gantas de arroz limpio. / Ay otros esclauos que llaman tagalos; a vnos llaman namamahi;/otros aguiguilitl namamahi, quiere dezir yndio que tiene casa deporsi/y aguiguilitl yndio que esta y bibe en casa del amo y le sirue de dia/y de noche y le sustenta este esclauo. Lo puede vender el amo porque/estos esclauos que estan en casa de sus amos ninguno es casado/sino solteros y solteras y si es baron en queriendose casar no se lo qui-/taua el principal y este tal en casandose se llama namamahe q./bibe ya de porsi y los esclauos que estaban en casa delos principa-/les por marauilla les daban licencia para que se casasen y a los/hombres no se la estorbaban a ninguno. Tienen obligacion los/esclabos que biben de porsi a esquipar el nauio asu amo quando/ba fuera y llebar ellos su comida y quando haze el principal borra-/chera de obligacion como quando se casa o quando le a sucedido vna/muerte, o si sea anegado o si a esta de preso, o si a estado enfermo. / Todas estas cosas hazen grandes borracheras y esto a de acudir/el esclauo que bibe de porsi con vn tibor de quilan o bino y tanto/arroz y asistir a las borracheras dichas. Y si el principal no tiene casa/estos esclauos se la hazen asu costa. Solo les haze el amo al cortar/los argues vna

borrachera y otra quando los lebantan y a esto/se juntan todos los yndios del pueblo y si lebantar los caya algun/yndio de arriba lo tenian por aguero y no hazian la casa; y otra bo-/ rrachera hazia quando cubrian la casa; y al hazella acudian/ todos los esclauos quel principal tenia y bebian de porsi y ellos le cor-/ [66*a*] tan la madera y lo necesario para la obra de la casa; y por esto/no les da mas que la comida. Daban estos esclabos que bibian de/porsi cada ano asu amo tributo cien gantas de arroz en cascara/que cada ganta tenia mas de vn quartillo de almud y de todas las/semilla que sembrauan; acudian asu amo con vn poco de cada cosa/y si hazian quilan acudian con vn tibor y si yban a casa de benados/avian de dar vna pierna al principal y si su amo era de los que/guardaban la seta de mahoma y llegaban a el benado antes que/los perros lo obiesen muerto. Luego llauan primero y le diesen/lançada para que comiese su amo del, porque lo mandauan asi los/sacerdoctes que mostrauan la seta de mahoma que no comiesen carne/sino fuese de gollada primero. Y quando moria alguno de estos es-/clauos tenian estas obligaciones dichas: si tenian hijos le to-/maba vno el principal para servirse del su casa y estos son los/aguiguilitl que estan dentro de la casa del principal; y si se casa vn/yndio libre con vna yndia esclaua, vn esclauo con vna yndia libre/y an hijos los parten en esta manera: el primero es libre y el que/sucede es esclauo y por esta horden los parten tantos a la madre como/al padre, y de los que son esclauos no puede tomar el principal mas de/vno para su casa y esto lo propio es que sea el padre y la madre esclauos. Y si tienen munchos hijos quando muncho tomados para el seruicio/ de su casa y si toma mas lo tienen por agrauio y tirania y en salien-/do que salen vna vez en casa del principal para casarse no buelben/a seruirle mas sino alas obligaciones que tienen los namamahe/sino es que el principal les haze fuerça y esto tie-nenlo por gran agravio/y tirania a velles dado ya licencia para que salgan de su casa y ha/zelles bolber a ella y estos esclauos heredaron de sus antepasados/con estos constumbres.

Hazian tanbien a vn yndio esclavo avnque fuese libre como le hallasen en algun hurto por pequeña que fuese y si era pobre/ que no tubiese en que echalle pena de dinero; si tenia el tal yndio parientes/rricas y pagauan por el quedaua por esclauo de sus parientes y esto hazianlo/sus parientes por no belle esclauo en poder de otros. Tanbien si vno halla-/ba a otro con su muger y no lo mataua y no tenia hazienda en que pe-/nalle le

hazian esclauo. Si vn yndio pobre pedia alguna cosa en-presta- / [66*b*] da y quedaba dese la pagar dentro de tanto tiempo y aquello auia/de ser con logro como yba pasando el tiempo. Asi yba creciendo el logro/y esto de logro se vsa hasta agora quando enprestan algunos dineros. / Digo que con vn toston que diesen dentro del tiempo que quedaban auia/debolber dos y si se posaba otro tanto tiempo sin pagallo eran qutro/y de esta manera yba creciendo hasta que lo benian a hazer esclauo/y de estos esclauos ay munchos y por las devdas de los padres toma-/ban los hijos y los hacian esclauos. Y quando quedaba algun guerfano/que no tubiese quien bolbiese por el, le achacaban los/principales que su abuelo le deuia alguna cosa y por esto le hacian/esclauo avnque no lo deuiese. Y tanbien sino tenia padre ni madre ni/tio hermano de su padre qualquier otro pariente que fuese susten-/tandole se seruia del como si fuese su esclauo que lo obiera comprado. / Quando le biene la pribera bez a vna muger su constumbre la cercan/de mantas alrrededor y tapan las ventanas de suerte que este donde/ella esta muy escuro y le bendan los ojos y no a de hablar nadie con/ella en aquel tiempo sino es la yndia que haze las sirimo-nias. Si es/libre esta asi quatro dias y si es principal veynte dias y vn mes y no/come cada vez sino dos guebos e quatro bocados de morisqueta a la/mañana y otros tantos a la noche y esto es aquellos quatro dias y/avnque le hablen quienquiera que sea no a de rresponder, porque dizen/que si entonces hablan an de salir muy parlonas. El vendalles los/ojos es por que no bea alguna cosa desonesta que dizen que si lauen/que an deser malas mugeres de su cuerpo y que si les da el biento que/an de andar como tontas de la cabeça y por esto se sercan tanto con/las mantas y cada mañana antes que dios amanesca las cojo vn/yndio y las lleba en hombros bendados los ojos a el rrio y la meten/ocho vezes en el agua y luego la asienta en vn asiento que tienen/echo en el rrio alto del agua que esta muy cercado con munchas ban-/deritas de papel y de manta. Y alli le quitan la uenda y se tapa ella/con sus proprias manos hasta que se la buelben a poner en los ojos. / La cargan en los hombros y la buelben a su casa y la vntan con/azeytes que ellos tienen con almisque o con algalia y con otros/olores que ellos tienen.

Quando las mugeres estan preñadas no se quitan los maridos/ [67*a*] el cauello porque dizen que an de naser sus hijos calbos y sin ca-/vellos; y las prenadas que son primerisas tienen por

abucion en subiendo a qualquier casa sino les dan en llegando vn poco de sal/o vn boyo; pero la sal no les a de faltar para comer alli y dizen que/si no la comen les an de dar camaras quando paran. Tienen por abusion/el comer dos plantanos y esten pegados vno con otro uotra qual- quier comida como esten dos en vna que dizen que an de parir dos cria-/turas de vn bientre y el parir dos de vn bientre lo tienen por grande/ afrenta. Tienen tanbien por abusion el comer de dos arriba en vn/plato porque no paran munchos hijos de vn bientre y en pariendo q./paren tienen echo vn serco de mantas y alli las tienen quatro dias/y al cauo de los quatro dias hazen calentar agua y se bañan y bañan/a su hijo. Estas son las yndias principales que la gente bulgar luego/en pariendo se bañan con agua caliente y a su hijo tanbien.

Crian estos yndios a sus hijos con muncho rregalo para lo que ellos/tienen y no los castigan en ninguna manera poco ni muncho y asi/quando son grandes no tienen ningun rrespecto a sus padres. Antes/si les enojan toman vn palo y les dan con el a los padres y si el padre/es esclauo y el hijo rrescata se sirue del como de su proprio esclauo. / Quando hazen la mas solene fiesta a su dios es quando quiere sauer/alguna muger de su marido o de su padre v otra qualquier persona/que esta ausente ponen su altar pequeño con su manera de manteles/ colorados v de otro color y en el altar ponèn vn rramo de al- bahaca/en vn jarro con agua o tasa y en vna saleneta vna poca de sal/molida y junta de suerte que este llana y en vna oja de buyo vn/buyo mascado y ponen su tiesto con su braça donde echan per-/fume y a cada lado del altar se pone vna persona pariente del/por quien quieren preguntar que anda fuera y el maestro de los/serimonias se sienta cujados los pies quitada la toquilla y pone/las manos y adora al altar; y en esto ay qran cilencio en la casa,/porque ay muncha gente y abajo de la casa tienen puesta senti-/nela para que no aya perros ni gatos debajo que den rruydo; y dize ciertas/palabras el maestro de las seri- monias a vna escudilla/que tiene con agua y toma luego con vnas ojas de palma blanca/y los rrocia a todos; y dize que aquella agua quita los pecados/y luego se buelbe al altar y esta vn rrato y le da vn temblor/ [67*b*] en el cuerpo; y en quitando se le dize que miren lo esta/puesto en el altar y acuden los que estan puestos a los lados y mi-/ranlo. Y si el albahaca esta lacia y las rramas se caen hazia la/banda de los que estan a los lados y miran la salcereta que tiene/la sal y si esta la sal hendida y

las hendiduras ban para los lados/donde estan los parientes por quien se procura. Estan a los lados/dizen que estan muerto y por el consiguiente el buyo mascado/a de tener echos rrayas como la sal y alcansanlo de la oja en esta/puesto y miranlo y si queda la oja mojada es mal senal que/dizen que sinifica que a de a ver llanto. Y si aquellos rrayas de/la sal y del buyo y rramas de albahaca se caen a diferente parte/que adonde estan los dos yndios puestos miran hazia que casa-/ban derechas y luego el dueno de aquella casa le promete al dios/de hazer vna borrachera en su nombre por que es quella senal de/que esto su dios enojado del dueno de aquella casa. Y si el albahaca/no son lacia ni la sal se hiende ni el buyo haze aquellas rrayas lo/ tienen por buena senal y en acauando de mirar lo esta puesto/ en el altar comiensan a hazer su borrachera.

Quando avia algun cometa dezian que significaua que se auia de de-/spoblar vn pueblo grande o que auia de morir algun principal. / Quando en la luna bian algun cerco dezian que significaba muerte/de algun principal. Quando seslipsaua [*sic*] la luna si estaua algun/yndio para yr a alguna parte fuera del pueblo avnque le ynportase/muncho dexaua de yr por mas de vn mes y munchas vezes dexaba la/yda del todo. Quando yban neuegando si les hazia mal tiempo se desnu-/dauan todos vno a uno y se miraban si tenian algun lunar delante/y si lo tenia le dehauan en el plan del nauio y por el consiguiente se hol-/ gauan si lo tenian en las espaldas. Tenian tanbien por aguero si vno te-/nia en la frente algun rremolino y este tanbien le hacian meter debajo/del nauio hasta que tubiesen buen biento. Tanbien tenian por aguero el/poner la bocado la olla hacia la proa porque dezian que abia de benir el/biento derecho ala boca de la olla. Asi mismo quando ban nauegando/tienen por constumbre llamar el biento por la popa y si alguno le llama/ por la proa le rrinen y echan de alli creyendo que por adonde llamaren/el biento por alli a de benir.

Tanbien vsan la gente serrana de la laguna en algunas partes/ traer entre el cuero y la carne cercado de pelotillas de brea uirgen del ta-/ [68*a*] maño de garbansos gruesos y esto hazen lo quando son ya para conocer/muger traen las debajo del capullo y entre cuero y carne del miembro. / Si algun pueblo o porque asi dorrobado o por hambre o por pestilen-/cia bacabis bajo todos dan trasdol avn los amigos hasta consumir lo. / Si algun nauio se aniega o da alà costa todos acuden arrobalo avnq./ sean de su mismo pueblo y si es gente estrangera avnque sean

aliados/que bengan alli a tratar les rroban y cautiban a todos en especia si es toda/la gente estrangera.

Asi mesmo el esclauo namanahae, que es el que bibe de porsi, si su amo/lo bendia no le daban por el mas de dos taes de oro, y si el se rrescatada/dava por la libertad de su cuerpo al principal ocho y diez taes de oro y/vno o dos esclauos en lugar de su cuerpo. Y el que compraua este escla-/uo le compraba con las obligaciones que atras se declararon. En al-/gunas partes dauan en lugar de tributo a sus amos tantas braças/de sementera y este la labrauan y cultibaban ellos asu costa.

TRANSLATION

DESCRIPTION OF THE LAND OF THE PROVINCE OF CAGAYAN,[1] AND THE MANNER OF DRESS OF THE NATIVES AND THEIR CUSTOMS, AND ITS RIVERS AND CREEKS, IS AS FOLLOWS

At the mouth of the river called Tajo[2] which is the largest in this province, is the town of the Spaniards which is called the city of Segovia.[3] This river runs north to south, rises from its source more than sixty leagues away, and at the bank of this river are many Indian settlements. Many creeks empty themselves into this river along which there are also many Indians;[4] and there are some creeks that, in order to reach the Indian settlements, take four or five days aboard *barotos*[5]

[1] Cagayan was, according to Bishop Domingo Salazar, one of the seven provinces composing Luzon Island in 1585. Retana, W.E., in Martinez de Zuñiga, Joaquin, Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas, 2 (Madrid, 1893) App. C, 376. For historical notes and description of the province, see Buzeta, Manuel, and Bravo, Felipe, Diccionario Geografico, Estadistico, Historico de las Islas Filipinas, 1 (Madrid, 1850) 432–442; also Martinez de Zuñiga, op. cit., 2: 22–31.

[2] Cagayan River; called Tajo by the early Spanish conquerors after the river of the same name in the Iberian peninsula. Buzeta and Bravo, op. cit., 1: 442. Cf. Retana, in Martinez de Zuñiga, ibid., 2: 416.

[3] Now Lal-lo on the right bank of the Cagayan River where it was founded by Juan Pablo Carrion in 1582. Nueva Segovia was originally the capital of Cagayan Province and the seat of the Bishopric of the same name until the transfer of said Bishopric to Vigan, Ilocos Sur. As a Bishopric, it was created in 1595 with Fr. Miguel de Benavides as first bishop, who took possession in 1599. Buzeta and Bravo, op. cit., 2 (Madrid, 1851) 366–67. Cf. Retana, in Martinez de Zuñiga, op. cit., 2: App. C, 387; ibid. in his edition of Morga, Antonio de, Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas (Madrid, 1909) 508.

[4] A literal translation of "Indios" in the original manuscript, a term used by the author and other early Spanish writers in referring to the natives not only of the Philippine Archipelago but of other oversea possessions of Spain. The term "Indian" or its plural here, therefore, should be taken in its historical context.

[5] As the name of a native embarcation, *baroto*, according to Retana, is neither Tagalog, Bisayan, nor any other Philippine language. It measures about 80 feet in length, and is made of a single piece. Retana, in Martinez de Zuñiga, op. cit., 2: 521; ibid. in his edition of Morga, op. cit., 510.

to travel. They plant at the banks of the large river and along the creeks a great quantity of rice, *borona*,[6] sweet potato[7] and others which are their food and sustenance. Isolated by the streams in the harsh mountains there live a number of Negros[8] who subsist on sweet potatoes, wild fruits and *buyos*,[9] which is a plant much esteemed in all this province and of much nourishment for them. The entire province is very fertile, has many warlike mountaineers, and some plains and valleys where they plant large quantities of rice during summer. They have their winter, which is from the first of October to the end of February. North winds prevail all this time, for which reason the coast of this province cannot be navigated, because of the strong winds and high seas. At this time there are many paths to the river from the plains, passage through which the knees are usually hurt and [*illegible*]. Many times buffalos and deer are caught in these paths. The natives

[6] Indian corn or maize (*Zea mays* Linn.). The name is applied "presumably by transfer from an earlier foreign plant—millet." Zingg, R.M., "American plants in Philippine ethnobotany", Phil. Jour. Sci. 54 (1934) 230. Indian corn "was first planted in the Philippines in 1541, by members of the Villalobos expedition, which explored the Archipelago before its conquest under Legaspi thirty years later." Ibid.

[7] *Ipomoea batatas* Linn.) Poirer. The American origin of sweet potato has been fixed, and like corn, authorities believed that it must have been introduced into the Philippines by the Villalobos expedition in 1541. Zingg, op. and loc. cit., 228.

[8] Properly Negritos. Buzeta and Bravo in referring to the peoples of Cagayan say: " . . . los Negritos o Aetas ocupan los montes proximos a los pueblos de la costa . . ." Op. cit., 1: 434, col. 1. Cf. Morga, in B. and R., 16: 45.

[9] A climbing vine (*Piper betle* Linn.) called *ikmo* in Tagalog, *buyo* in Bikol, *gaoed* in Pangasinan, *gaued* in Iloko, *mamon* in Bisayan, and *samat* in Pampangan. Quisumbing, Eduardo, Medicinal plants of the Philippines (Manila, 1951) 213. Together with betel nut (*Areca catechu* Linn.), called *buñga* in Tagalog and Bisayan, *luyos* in Pampangan, *boa* in Iloko, and *takobtob* in Bikol, it forms one of the principal components of the *ouyo* masticatory which is extensively used throughout the Philippines, as well as the Indo-Malayan and Polynesian regions. Quisumbing, op. cit., 122. Regarding the custom of chewing *buyo*, see Morga, Sucesos (Ed. by W. E. Retana; Madrid, 1909) 181; English translation in B. and R., 16: 97–98. Cf. Retana, in Morga, op. cit., 492. A modern work on the buyo-chewing complex in the Philippines is Conklin, H.C., "Betel chewing among the Hanunoo", Proc. 4th Far Eastern Pre-Hist. Cong. Paper no. 56 (Diliman, Q. C., 1958) 1–35, pls. 1–5.

have much gold. It is understood that they have many mines[10] in the mountains, but they do not want to show them to the Spaniards and so they are not taken away from them. They likewise have some stones which they value highly called *bulaganes*[11] and *bahandines*[12] and worn by women as jewelry. It is not known, nor have they given a reason if the [*illegible*] or where they find them; all say they have inherited them from their ancestors, and thus esteem and hold them at a high price. They are black and white.

[10] These must be the Igorot gold mines. "The Igorot gold mines have long been famous. As early as 1575, Governor Guido de Lavezares, influenced no doubt by report of gold, planned and despatched an expedition to northern Luzon, but the undertaking had no result. In 1591, the energetic governor, Gomez Perez Dasmariñas, sent his son Luis, afterward acting governor, and two other expeditions to explore the so-called province of Tuy. In 1594, Luis Perez Dasmariñas despatched Captain Toribio de Miranda to the same region. See Blair and Robertson, ut supra, 14, 281–326, for an account of these early expeditions. Pages 301–307 relate "What has been known from old times, in these districts, of the rich mines of the Yglotes [that is, Igorots] both from seeing the great amount of gold that the Indians of those mountains have extracted without skill, and are still obtaining, and which they sell to the neighboring provinces, and trade for food; and by persons (Spaniards as well as Indians) who have been in the mines opened by those mountaineers." As early as 1624, the workings of the Igorots appear to very old, and many of them were already abandoned. An engineer conversant with Chinese methods of mining told me recently that it was his belief that the Igorots had learned their methods from the Chinese. See Becker's account on native methods of mining in 21st Ann. Rep. U.S. Geolog. Surv. (1910), III, 576–680. Quirante writing in 1624 (Blair and Robertson, ut supra, 20, 276–279) says that the Igorot men, women, and children were accustomed to wash gold in the small mountain streams during the rainy season. This was traded in the lowlands for cattle and other animals by its quantity as determined by sight instead of by weight. Quirante says that the natives had five hills where they had tapped the gold-bearing quartz rock, although they obtained but a small amount of the metal. The workings as described by Quirante appear to have been rather extensive. Their tools he says were "certain stakes of heavy wood fashioned like pickaxes, with the knot of the said stake larger at the end of it, where, having pierced it, they fit into it a small narrow bit of iron about one palmo long. Then seated in the passages or works, as the veins prove, they pick out and remove the ore, which having been crushed by a stout rock in certain large receptacles fixed firmly in the ground, and with other smaller stones by hand, and having reduced the ore to powder, they carry it to the washing-places." The gold was then obtained by repeated washings and crushings. Under Quirante's directions 26 assays of the ore taken from the old workings were made. Worcester [This Journal (1906), 1, 848] says of the gold mining of the Lepanto Igorots: "The men have

Regarding their dress and costume the men wear *bahaques*[13] and a skirt of black cloth, wide and long up to the mid-thigh. The majority of the natives use leather soles, and there is a creek where people live who make them. The *bahaque* comes from the dried bark of a tree, and on their head they wear a band of the same bark. This same apparel they have for mourning. All the people, except those mentioned above, ordinarily use this dress. (See Plates 1 to 2) All the time they are in mourning they do not eat rice nor drink wine, only *borona,*[14] camotes and other herbs. They wear their hair long to the shoulders and short at the front up to the temples.[15] They wear on their heads crowns made of fragrant herbs. Their weapons[16] are lances and shields a fathom long and three-fourths [of a fathom] wide. They have some quilted arms and a cap similar to a colored morion and some daggers of more than eight fingers in width and a palm and a half in length, with heads of ebony, with which they can cut off a head with a stroke.[17] Others use the bow and arrow, although the majority of these fletchers are Negritos. (See Plate 3) They have many herbs, a drop of which in the blood would cause quick death unless remedied by another herb. The Indians of Purrao,[18] which is

mined gold for centuries. They work over the faces of exposed cliffs, when necessary suspending themselves by means of rattans, and pick out the streaks of rich ore which show free gold. This they dig with their crude iron or steel implements, the use of powder being unknown among them. The ore, after being dug, is crushed and panned. Both men and women also wash gold from the sands of the streams, and the women are especially famed for the skill with which they save the very light float gold—a skill which American miners have found it impossible to attain. The gold is usually sold in the form of dust, although it is sometimes melted and run into ingots." Robertson, James A., "The Igorots of Lepanto," Phil. Jour. Sci. 9–D (1914) 520–21, note 105.

[11] and [12] We have not been able to identify *bulaganes;* however *bahandines* must be from *bahandi,* meaning "alhajas, muebles, hacienda, joyas de oro, plata, et cet." Encarnacion, Juan Felix de la, Diccionario Bisaya-Español (3a. ed.; Manila, 1885) 28. Rizal (B. and R., 16: 118), in annotating his edition of Morga thought *bahandin* a misprint for *bahayin,* to which we can hardly agree; Morga's usage refers to "adornment and finery" which tend to confirm the meaning given by Encarnacion.

[13] See infra, note 31.

[14] See supra, note 6.

[15] Morga, in B. and R., 16: 75.

[16] Regarding the native weapons, cf. ibid., 16: 81.

[17] Ibid.

[18] We suspect this place-name refers to present Aparri which is located at the mouth of Cagayan River.

near the source of this river Tajo, use for weapons cured buffalo hides which are strong and hard to penetrate they have corselets and morions and spears which are long and wide. These are their arms for war. This is a province where the people have wars, one against the other, and where they do not take anybody alive, even women and children, but cut off their heads.

They have in each town a chief whom they obey and respect. These [chiefs] are largely brave Indians whom they have made lords because of their deeds. Their inclination is to rob the gold of one another, and to cut off a head: a very treacherous and cruel people. All their feasts are featured with drinking,[19] in which they get drunk, and which afterwards usually lead to a quarrel among themselves until they kill each other; and they therefore agree on treacherous plans to rob the gold of a town chief and to cut off the heads of Indians. The one they adore is the devil, invoking it and painting it in the form in which it appears to them, calling it *anito*[20] in general. They have also a bird called *bantay*[21] and whenever they go out of their village and even in their dealings if this bird sings

[19] That the early Filipinos were addicted to drinking, Spanish writers agree in their observations. See description of their feasting and drinking by Chirino, in B. and R., 12: 308–311. We owe it to Chirino for making the more acceptable appraisal of their drinking habit when he says that it did not disadvantageously affect their behavior. Cf. Loarca, in B. and R., 5: 117; Morga, ibid., 16: 80; and Colin, who follows Chirino, ibid., 40: 65.

[20] "The idea that dominates all Filipino religion is the belief in a class of supernatural beings called *anito*. This term is hard to translate, because it includes gods or divinities proper; evil or beneficent spirits of lower rank; and finally the souls of dead human beings. An *anito* is therefore any being which possesses the intelligence of a human person and equal or superior faculties, but lacks a corporeal body." Kroeber, A.L., Peoples of the Philippines (2d. rev. ed.; New York, 1943) 187. For citations regarding the subject by Spanish authors, see Loarca, in B. and R., 5: 173–175; Chirino, ibid., 12: 181; Colin, ibid., 40: 71–73.

[21] In most of the major Philippine languages, *bantay* means guard or sentinel, and was probably applied to the bird because of its habit of being invariably found around human habitations or settlements. Colin, undoubtedly copying from Chirino, says: "The Tagalogs worshipped a blue bird as large as a turtle-dove, which they called *tigmamanuquin*, to which they attributed the name Bathala, which . . . was among them a name for divinity. They worshipped the crow . . . and called it *Meylupa*, signifying "master of the earth!" Colin, in B. and R., 40: 7. Morga speaks of the bird as yellow-colored. Op. cit. in B. and R., 16: 131.

from the left bank of the river or creek they return and abandon their journey, fearing it as a bad omen;[22] and it is the same thing with a gray heron, if it rises from the right side or alights on the left side of the river or road where they are traveling, they proceed happily, specially if they are going to war with another, believing victory will be theirs. And if they win and bring back some prize or heads of their enemies, they celebrate it also by drinking, ringing some bells which they possess, some dancing, others drinking—including women —and everybody celebrates the feast of victory they won, placing on the wreaths many pendant feathers of gold; and these the brave Indians put on, those who have cut off heads. And they celebrate these dances and drinking two, three or more times.

A form of worship are the cruel *maganitos*[23] which they observe in which old women or Indians dressed as women officiate. When they want to know from their *anito*[24] something, they bring to a room a quantity of saucers full of rice, crabs, oil, water and some herbs [*illegible*] and other things asked of them; all these are cooked and placed together. If the *anito* is held for some sick person, with his children present, they dance and sing around him with a shawl in their hands, striking many postures; and in this way they are helped by other native women, who do nothing but dance and return to their places. The woman leader of these ceremonies remains at the side of the sick person and talking to herself with many posturings, falters, then recovers and goes to the sick person to anoint oil on his head and many parts of the body; saying the *anito* will give him health. Once the *anito* is finished, the food on the saucers is given to the sick man, his children and others in the house to eat, and the left-overs are asked by neighbors as if they were blest bread.

[22] For native beliefs in omens and auguries, see Colin, in B. and R., 40: 77–78; Plasencia, ibid., 7: 189.

[23] Forms of sacrifices, the methods of making which depended on the occasions or purposes for which they were intended. Cf. Colin, in B. and R., 40: 75–77. See infra note 43.

[24] Author equates the term *anito*, the native term for their supernatural beings (see supra, note 20) with *maganito*, the act itself of performing the sacrifice toward such beings; which should not be the case. See infra, note 43, for more citations on the sacrifices of the natives.

When the *maganito* is held not for a sick man but for a betrothal or for the harvest in their fields, each one wears all the gold and precious stones he owns and the women all their jewelry. The marriage takes place in the house of the betrothed or that of the father-in-law; and if for a harvest, on a field which they have for this purpose, and there they start their *anito,* drinking and eating and ringing bells and other instruments, with the women and young people dancing. Thus, in the twenty or thirty days during which the feast lasts, they do not stop dancing and singing until some get tired and others take their place; while the chiefs and brave Indians eat and drink until they fall drunk, and are brought by their slaves and women elsewhere to sleep. When they wake up they return to the feast and get drunk anew; and after they have spent sometime at this *anito,* the old woman leader takes some red necklaces and gives them to the chiefs and brave Indians and their women, who regard them highly and keep them as we do. The saucers, plates, and cups that have been blessed and used in this *maganito* are broken and thrown outside the house, as they do not want anybody to be served from them. Later, on another day, as those who have to work in the fields leave, others come to cultivate the place. If it be a marriage, the husband gives the dowry to her who would be his wife.[25] From that time on the condition is imposed that if she breaks the marriage she must return all that had been given her, but if he does so she retains all the dowry. It is the custom for the man to give a dowry to the woman; otherwise they do not get married. It is customary among them to get married and unmarried as they please. When a child is born they take it to the river to bathe, and the mother does likewise.[26] There they cut the creature's umbilical cord, wash it well, dry it thoroughly and turn it over to the father to keep; who places it in a bag containing small pieces of gold. When the boys reach eight years of age, they teach them to shoot with a bow and arrow, others the use of lances and spears, in which later they become great archers. If a chief has a small boy, it is brought to war by a servant or Indian to cut off heads and incite [the child's] inclination for it. They are a very jealous people and usually kill

[25] See infra, notes 79 and 82.
[26] See infra, note 75.

their wives if found with other Indians, and on this account often wage wars among themselves which cause many deaths.

THE CUSTOMS THEY HAVE IN FUNERALS ARE THE FOLLOWING [27]

They carry a set of *bahandines* and *bulaganes,* five large, others medium-size, and the *bulaganes* are very good.

Five set of *bulaganes* and *bahandines*[28] of many kinds wrapped around the stomach.

Earrings that usually weigh fifteen taels of gold.

A choker of beaten gold which they say weighs two taels.

They carry a black piece of cloth over the stomach and chest with many golden lions and other embroidered figures, all of much value.

Some sticks of gold with feathers which they carry [like] a dagger in the head when they go to war, all of gold and of great value.

They bury them in a hole two fathoms deep, four fathoms long, and a fathom and a half wide, where a *baroto* sawn in half [is buried]: the lower half, whole, and the upper [cut] in two pieces like doors; and a wooden piece through the same opening, two mats are placed on top and there they put small bits of areca nut, lime, betel nut.

They put two small blankets on each side of the deceased.

Two tiny plates on each side.

Small jars of oil and other fragrant oils.

Two trays, one at the head and the other at the foot.

Covering everything with earth, and later they build a shelter over the sepulcher.

The women's dress is the *chinina*[29] up to the navel, with long sleeves and tied at the back with a ribbon.

They have short skirts up to the knees, open to one side, and a thin skewer in the hair made of bamboo, well carved; their hair is kept well by oils.

They walk barefoot, even if belonging to the best class.

[27] These appear to be short notes which the author must have intended for later elaboration.

[28] See supra, notes 11 and 12.

[29] This must be the *chinanas* of Morga. See Morga, in B. and R., 16: 76, particularly note 46, where Rizal attempts a possible derivation for the term.

CUSTOMS AND CEREMONIAL USAGES AND RITES OF BISAYANS

The Bisayans are accustomed to paint their bodies with some very elegant paintings.[30] They do them with iron or brass points heated with a fire, and they have artisans who are adept at it. They do them with such order, symmetry and co-ordination that they elicit admiration from those who see them. They are done in the manner of illuminations, painting all parts of the body, such as the chest, the stomach, legs, arms, shoulders, hands and muscles, and, among some, the posteriors. The women paint only the hands very elegantly. To the men these paintings serve as if they were dressed, and thus they seem although they usually go naked, and wear nothing on the body except a cotton cloth two fathoms long, or a bit more, and three-fourths [of a fathom] wide, which with a few polished turns they wrap around the waist and between the legs so as to cover their private parts and posteriors, with the rest of the body naked. This cloth they call in their tongue *bahaque*,[31] and with this the paintings look as well as if they were dressed very elegantly. They have another kind of dress, which consists of some cotton cloths that they make into a morning wear. They are closed at the front. The men carry on their heads very fine head-dresses of many colors which become a sort of Turkish turban. They call these in their language *purones*,[32] and they certainly are nice-looking and elegant. The young men wear them very finely with many strips of gold. (See Plates 7 to 9)

The garments and dresses of Bisayan women[33] consist of some mantles with diverse colored strips made of cotton, and others made from a plant which they have; and some wear plain taffeta and damask that come from China. These are made as follows: a mantle is sewn in such a way that it becomes

[30] The method of making these "paintings" is described by Chirino, in B. and R., 12: 205–206; see also Loarca, in ibid., 5: 115. Tottooing was not the monopoly of the Bisayans; Zuñiga reports that natives of Albay, Camarines, and Catanduanes also practiced it. Martinez de Zuñiga, op. cit., 2: 51 and 66.

[31] Properly *bahag* in most Philippine languages; a loincloth.

[32] A headwear properly called *potong* or *podong* (in Samar-Leyte Bisayan), *purung* (in Hiligaynon), and *putong* (in Tagalog and Pampangan). Morga, in B. and R., 16: 76, especially note 48, by Rizal who quotes Colin. For a discussion of the headwear, see Kroeber, op. cit., 133–135.

[33] Morga's description of the manner of dressing of the native women is in B. and R., 16: 77–78.

like a big sack of wheat with two openings; the head is placed through one opening turning it down to the waist with both openings of the mantle falling below; a slip-knot with the same mantle above the waist is made by grasping it because it is very wide to be able to make the knot; it hugs the body, with the knot to one side, very elegantly done, and then the dress appears as if they were wearing skirts. One side is longer than the other because of the fold they make, and they appear in this fashion I describe. With this they wear a chemise or jacket with half sleeves that reach the elbows, although some wear them with full sleeves. They are close-fitting without neckbands and are buttoned at the front with braids or cords of silk. Many wear a lot of gold jewelry which they use as buttons, and small golden chains which they use as best they can. They do not wear any kind of blouse, nor have they become used to it, because all they wear is next to the skin; the waist and stomach, together with the legs, are uncovered almost to palm length. When they go out they wear a mantle-like wrap made of white cotton, some of colored tapetan. When women leave their homes to visit others, they walk very slowly, making a thousand movements with their body, with one sleeved arm upraised, because they consider it fashionable to do so.[34] The men likewise do so, and if belonging to the principalia, the women wear crowns and wreaths on their heads made of tinsel imported from China, and sometimes when they do not have these wear the crowns made of roses and flowers from the fields.

The Bisayans have and believe in the origin and beginning of the world, something tiresome and full of nonsense to make one laugh.[35] They say that before land appeared, there were only the sky and sea which existed from all eternity; and there was a bird which used to fly always between sky and sea without finding a place to rest; this bird was a bird of prey which, tired of continuous flying, determined to make the sky and the sea quarrel so that it might thus find some place where it could alight and rest, because there was no place for it in the sky and neither on the sea. Flying upwards it said that the sea wanted to rise and submerge the sky with water,

[34] Cf. Morga, ibid. 16: 79.

[35] For the cosmogony of the Bisayans as recorded by Loarca, see B. and R., 5: 121–125. Although varying in certain details, Loarca's version reveals the same pattern found in the present document.

and the sky told the bird that if the sea did so it would hurl over its waters many islands and rocks, in such a way that never would the waters reach the sky and never could harm it because with the islands and rocks the sea would have to go around them and would not have space to rise against the sky as it said, nor raise itself, because the great weight of the islands and stones would hamper it. Upon hearing this, the bird descended to the sea and said that the sky was very angry and wanted to throw many large islands and rocks of great weight; hearing this from the bird that the sky wanted to throw things at it, the sea became so angry that it started rising and increasing and ascending with such force and impetus and determination to submerge it that the sky began to fear and to raise itself higher so as not to become submerged, with which the sea raised itself with greater force and fury and tried to go higher; and the sky, seeing that the sea was continuing going higher, began throwing down many large rocks and many islands; with their weight the sea began subsiding to its original level, and with the islands and rocks that the sky had hurled the sea could no longer rise, leaving the sky very happy in its same place for what the sea had done; because afterwards the bird seeing the earth on the sea flew down very happily for having found a place to rest from its continuous flight. And while resting on the land it saw a bamboo on the waters that had two nodes and that was being brought to the land by the surf where the bird was perched by the edge. The surf always made the bamboo hit the feet of the bird and although it moved elsewhere so as not to be hit on the feet, the bamboo still went where the bird was, hitting and hurting its feet. Thereupon the bird began pecking vigorously at the bamboo until its nodes split open and from which later appeared a man from one node and a woman from the other, who became the first man and woman in the world. The man was called *calaque* and the woman *cabaye,* from which the Bisayans say came the origin of the names of man and woman which among them and in their language are called *alaque*[36] for man and *babay*[37] for the women, derived from these first man and woman, who were found in the two bamboo nodes which the bird had split open. They also say that after the man and the woman had come forth

[36] and [37] Properly *lalake* and *babaye,* respectively, in all major Philippine languages.

from the two bamboo nodes, the man told the woman they would marry each other in order to multiply and beget offsprings. The woman did not want to be married, saying it was not just they should marry because they were brothers and were created together in those two nodes of the bamboo where there was not one more node in the same bamboo; and if they married they would be punished by their gods Maguayem and Malaon[38] for these were the names of the chief gods amongst them. The man told the woman not to have any fear because of that, as they could well get married, and to know if the gods would get angry or not they would ask the fishes in the sea as to whether or not the gods would be offended by their marriage. And agreeing on this they asked the tunnies who replied that the pair could very well be married and not to fear punishment from their gods because they were also married although brothers like them, and had multiplied greatly as could be seen and they had not been punished by their gods for it. And although the woman saw and understood this, she did not want to marry her brother for fear of their gods. The man again said that, for the greater assurance of knowing whether or not they should get married without incurring the wrath of the gods, they should ask the birds what they had to say; agreed on this, they both went among the doves and asked them if they were brothers and if the gods would get angry if they married each other; the doves gave the same reply that the tunnies had given, saying that it was well that the pair would marry and beget many children, because they themselves had done so; for which reason they had multiplied so much on earth, and although brothers the gods had not been displeased; despite all these [words] heard by the woman she resolved not to marry for fear of their gods; she then said that if she was to marry it would be after asking some god of their own, and if he said yes, then she would get married and in no other way. The man said it would be that way, and they agreed to go and ask the god Linuc,[39] which is the earthquake, and having asked him he replied and said it was proper for both to get married and enlarge

[38] Not in Loarca who gives Captan instead. Loarca, in B. and R. 5: 121.

[39] In Samar-Leyte Bisayan, (Encarnacion, Diccionario, 208) earthquake is *linog*, which closely resembles name of this god. Cf. Llanes, op. and loc. cit., 7 (1958) 163–64.

the world with their progeny; and not to fear that because of it the gods would get angry. With this assurance the woman consented to the marriage, because the fishes and the birds and Linuc, the god of earthquakes, had said so. And they returned to him to marry them, they got married, and remained happy. They say that a little later the woman became pregnant and gave birth at one time to a large number of boys and girls who could later no longer be supported, because they were all such idlers that they stayed in the house and did nothing for their sustenance and much less did they want to help their parents to do. Thereupon the parents became angry with their children and decided to throw them out of the house. And for this purpose one day the father upon his return, feigning much anger, and on entering the house saw them all playing and idling, took a stick and began shouting at the children, giving them to understand he was to kill them. The children fled, not wanting to wait for their father, seeing him so angry and fearing that he would kill them, separating from one another as best as they could, many going outside the house of their father; others entered the bedroom of the house, and some remained at the main living room; others went to the kitchen and hid themselves between the pots and the chimneys. The Bisayans say that from those who entered the bedroom of the house came the descendants of their lords and chiefs who command, are respected and whom they serve among them as we do in our Spain; the lords with titles they call in their tongue *datos*. And from those who stayed in the main living room of the house came the knights and the nobles among them, because they are free and pay nothing; these are called *timaguas* in their language. From those who hid behind the walls of the house descended the slaves, whom they call *oripes*.[40] From those who went to the kitchen and hid in the chimney and among the pots came the Negros who are to be found in the Philippines, isles of the West, in mountainous parts. And for the rest who left the house and never returned nor heard from, they say that from these came the other peoples in the world, saying these were many and that they left for many and diverse parts [of the world]. And this is what they have as the creation and origin of mankind, having with this their ancestors as gods, as they do, saying that these [gods] can

[40] Should be *olipon* (in Hiligaynon) or *alipin* (in Tagalog).

help them in all their undertakings, give them health or take it away, and thus they invoke and call them believing that in everything they would be helped.

They likewise say that the reason why the dead do not return to this century is because one of their ancestors— once there were more people—called Pandaguam, who they say was the first to invent the art and method of fishing and made traps in the sea for this purpose, caught in the fishtrap a shark which on being brought ashore died, and to which he offered rites as if it were a human being; for which the gods got angry at him and sent a bold of lightning from the sky which killed Pandaguam. After his death the gods took him to heaven and conferred with him; and thirty days after his death sent him back to earth to live; and during the thirty days that Pandaguam was in heaven and out of this world, his wife called Lobloban lived with someone named Marancon believing that Pandaguam her husband would not return to this world. Pandaguam had by this wife a son named Anoranor who was the first person to see him return to this world, because he was in the house where Pandaguam first returned to see his wife Lobloban. Asking from Anoranor for his mother the son said she was not in the house, and was told to look for her and inform her that he had been resurrected, and that the gods had sent him back to earth and that he was waiting for her at the house. Lobloban at that time was in the house of her friend Marancon relaxing from a meal of pork which [Marancon] had stolen—for which the Bisayans believe that this Marancon is the inventor of thievery—and as the son told Lobloban to return to their house because Pandaguam had already been resurrected and had sent him to call her because he wanted to see her, Lobloban became angry with her son Anoranor and replied harshly and badly, saying he was lying in what he had told her, and to leave and say nothing more of it; because Pandaguam was already dead, that he was not going to return because the shark he had killed had not come to life, and much less would Pandaguam his father come to life. With this reply Anoranor returned to their house and told his father Pandaguam what his mother Lobloban had said; giving with this an account of everything he had done after the lightning of the gods had killed him; and how she had lived with Marancon. Pandaguam felt this deeply and leaving his house in great anger against his wife,

went to hell—which in their tongue is called *sular*[41]—and never returned nor appeared in this world. From this [account] the Bisayans believe men became mortals for what Pandaguam had done in offering rites to the dead shark; and they also believe that the reason why the dead do not return to life in this world after death is because the woman Lobloban did not want to come at the command of her husband Pandaguam, because before all this, as we have said all men were immortals. And if somebody was killed, the gods resurrected and returned him to this world to live, as they did with Pandaguam. But from that time on, all who died went to hell—which we have said is called *sular*—until among them there was a woman called Si baye or Mahelucy—others call her Sibay or Mastrasan —who it is said ordered a sacrifice to their gods so that the spirits of those who died would not go to hell, but would be sent to a certain part of those islands in the most rugged mountains where they would not be seen by any living person and where they were in life regaled and feasted;[42] about which sacrifice invented by this woman we shall give more details. They call this in their tongue *maganito*,[43] and it can be done by men and women, and those who do it are called *baylanes*[44] if they are men, and *baysanas*[45] if women, who are among us known as witches or enchanters, and among heathen Romans priests and priestesses: these invoke their gods—or better

[41] Should be *solad* which Encarnacion explains as follows: "Profundidad, hondura, entrañas de la tierra. Metaforicamente significa desesperarse alguno, quererse matar, y suicidarse de hecho. Desafiarse algunos para quitarse la vida." His Diccionario (Manila, 1885) 357. Cf. Plasencia who has *casanaan* as the Tagalog term for hell. Plasencia, in B. and R., 7: 196. Cf. Llanes, Jose, "Dictionary of Philippine mythology", Univ. Manila Jour. East Asiatic Stud. 6 (1957) 119. See infra, note 177.

[42] Last clause makes no sense.

[43] The first detailed description of this sacrifice witnessed among the Bisayans is that of Antonio Pigafetta, historian of the epic voyage of Ferdinand Magellan. Pigafetta, in B. and R., 34: 163–167. Other descriptions are those of Loarca, ibid., 5: 131–133, 163, 173–175; Plasencia, ibid., 7: 185, 190, 191; Chirino, ibid., 12: 265–272, 302, 304; and Colin, ibid., 40: 75–77. Cf. Llanes, op. and loc. cit., 7 (1958) 136–138.

[44] The name given to native priestesses; the same as *babaylan*. In Iloko and Tinggian, they are known as *baglans*, in Bikol, *balyan*, and in Tiruray, *belian*. Llanes, op. and loc. cit., 5 (1956) 57.

[45] *Baysanas* as a term for female priestesses is not confirmed by other Spanish writers who say that the *baylanes* are generally women. Loarca, in B. and R., 5: 129, 133.

still, their devils—with certain superstitious words and gestures they have, and kill with their own hands with a lance a pig; cutting off its head they set it aside from the rest of the meat, with the others present not touching it except the priest performing the sacrifice or *maganito,* as they call it, saying that the head is for the gods and that nobody should touch it except him making the sacrifice. After the sacrifice or bewitchment, he eats it alone and the rest of the meat is divided among all those present at the sacrifice; eating very splendidly and drinking a certain liquid made from rice, until they get drunk and are carried to their house by their servants and friends by the arms or by the shoulders. And this sacrifice is what they are accustomed to make when somebody is sick and for the gods to give them health and knowledge. If this sacrifice is acceptable, they do this: those holding the priestly office take the omentum of the pig that has been killed, placing on the floor an earthen pot, playing all the time some bells they have and making a lot of noise with it, reciting some songs and doing other things with joy and merriment—with the sick man for whom the sacrifice is being made present all the time—scattering on the floor much of the drink that they have there. For this purpose they say that what they scatter is for their gods to drink, invoking also their ancestors, certain that these can favor and give them health because they also regard them as gods. If the sick man dies, and he is a powerful person, they bury with him alive some of his slaves,[46] because the chief is placed in a wooden coffin inside his own house, saying that it is necessary for the dead to be served in the other world, given food and attended to: for which purpose they hold another sacrifice and drinking feast with many invited guests, invoking the devils with certain words they are used to, asking for the well-being of the spirits of all those buried there, to let them out of hell and carry them to high and rugged mountains where nobody lives because of its ruggedness, so that they can there enjoy a life of idleness, feasted and regaled, where they believe their ancestors are eating continuously and drinking sumptuously. They affirm [their belief] in this nonsensical event such that one admires them, and no one can remove it from their heads although one tells them that it is not so. Other abuses and superstitions: on leaving their house for some place, if one of them sneezes they turn back and stay for some

[46] Loarca, in B. and R., 5: 135; Chirino, ibid, 12: 302–304.

time before going out, and then proceed with what they were going to do.[47] And when they go to some place outside their villages to trade or to make war or something else, they take an omen from the eye-teeth of crocodiles, which they have for this purpose, so they may know if what they intend to do will turn out well; and if the omen shows that all would go well, they proceed but first indulge in two or three days of drinking feast. They follow the same method when going to war and if the omen is not good they desist or wait for a few days until good luck comes out. Likewise among the Bisayans there are some [persons] whom they call *axuanos*[48] or *malaques* who are the same as our sorcerers, and they say these have the power to kill those whom they want by only saying that these persons they want to kill will die. They say these can likewise kill any person they dislike merely by looking at them. It sometimes happens that if in a town where these sorcerers live the chief or principal person dies or the latter's son, the relatives of the dead person kill the sorcerer who live in that town, together with all the relatives and persons in his house, saying that the sorcerer had killed the chieftain, and for this reason nobody of his lineage should live; otherwise the survivor would become a sorcerer, and the rest should be killed.[49]

When taking an oath these words are usually used, believing them to be a great oath and whoever says them would not lie: "May the sun rend me asunder, may I go with the sun, or may I die with it or with the crocodile or reptile; may they eat me if what I say is not the truth." They believe that if they do not tell the truth the words of the oath will occur but despite this they utter a thousand lies and false testimonies.[50]

[47] Loarca, in B. and R., 5: 165; Chirino, ibid., 12: 267; Colin, ibid., 40: 77.

[48] Should properly be *aswang* in modern orthography. An *aswang* is an evil spirit, witch or demon which appears at night in the form of an animal, like a dog, cat or bird. Belief in the spirit is particularly prominent among the Bisayans, Pampangans, Bikols, and Mandayas. Llanes: op. and loc. cit., 5 (1956) 58. For a more extended treatment of the subject, see Lynch, F.X., "Ang mga aswang", Philip. Soc. Sci. Human. Rev., 14 (1949) 401–427.

[49] The killing of an *aswang* is reported in a recent article by a modern observer, an S.V.D. priest, who was stationed in Leyte. Arens, Richard, "Witches and witchcraft in Leyte and Samar Islands, Philippines," Phil. Jour. Sci. 85 (1956) 451–465.

[50] Colin observed that the native oaths were all execrations in the form of awful curses. Op. and loc. cit., 40: 78–79. Cf. Morga, ibid., 16: 132.

They are certain that all who die stabbed or eaten by some reptile or wild beast, from either the land or sea, or those who die from lightning or some similar death, their spirits go to heaven with their gods and not to the high mountains which we have said go those who die from maladies; saying these dead ascend to heaven through the rainbows that appear during rains,[51] which they value and have much, saying these are very brave.

They have no temples whatsoever where they adore and revere their gods,[52] much less do they have religious persons who teach or preach their rites or lead a life of abstinence and piety as have other idolaters in the world. They have only sorcerers as we have said who practice nothing besides the act of killing the pig and other superstitious rites as we have said; nor is there a religious order.

These Bisayans carry their hair very long, men as well as women,[53] valuing it highly, very often combing it and putting on certain fragrant unguents which they make for it. They wear it gathered to one side of the head, making a neat knot which does not unravel unless purposely done so. The women carry no other coiffure except as described with knot which in appearance is very neat and looks well. The men wear them gathered by very elegant teats (cloths) which they turn around the head and which they call *purones,*[54] about which we shall later deal. The men and women have their ears open in many places, and in these openings the men and women place many things and gold ornaments made very exquisitely,[55] as they have among them many gold artisans for this purpose who work on filigree choicely and with much benefit. Some look like roses and these are worn only by women and are called *pomaras.*[56] Others are like round rings worn by men and women who call them *panicas.*[57] Some wear three or four pairs of such rings

[51] Cf. Loarca, in B. and R., 5: 129.

[52] Loarca, in B. and R., 5: 129; Plasencia, ibid., 7: 185.

[53] Cf. Loarca, in B. and R., 5: 115.

[54] From *purung* (Hiligaynon for "crown, diadem, wreath"). See sufra, note 32.

[55] See Loarca, in B. and R., 5: 117.

[56] We have not been able to identify this term.

[57] Both Noceda and San Lucar (Vocabulario, 1860: 241), and Serrano-Laktaw (Diccionario, 1914: 105) give the meaning of this as "oro de mas de 18 quilates."

in their ears, which they can do because they have so many holes. (See Plates 8 and 9)

These Bisayans do not not have a king or high personage whom they all obey.[58] Generally what they have is a chief or two in each village whom they call in their tongue *datos*[59] as we have said, who as in Spain are titled lords. Their orders are obeyed in their villages because the rest of the inhabitants are their slaves and those who are not are their debtors; these are called *timaguas*[60] who are the hidalgos in Castile because they are exempt from paying or contributing anything to the *datos* or chiefs.

Ordinarily among the Bisayans there were many wars[61] and major differences before the arrival of the Spaniards in their land; there were scarcely towns, or peace with their neighbors, killing and robbing one another with much cruelty, committing a thousand betrayals. In this they were great masters, enslaving one another, and not keeping their word or present promises. After the arrival of the Spaniards, they stopped all these things, because at present there are hardly any wars or differences among them; the Spaniards have settled and removed debates, because they are held in *encomiendas* for payment of tribute; they [Spaniards] have tried so that there be none of these things, and the justice officials on their part do likewise.

The arms[62] these people are used to are some daggers of a strange design with wooden scabbards called *bararaos;*[63] some lances with some iron [tip] in the shape of tongues, small *astras* of the height more or less of a man. They have wooden shields with which they cover their bodies when fighting. They are long and narrow, some very elegant and painted. They make some armor in the form of a cuirass from cotton fiber, very strong such that even if hit by a lance although

[58] Cf. Morga, in B. and R., 16: 119; Colin, ibid., 40: 82.

[59] Cf. Plasencia, in B. and R., 7: 173.

[60] Plebeians or freemen. Morga in B. and R., 16: 120; Loarca, ibid., 5: 147–149. Although supposed by authorities to be applicable to the Tagalogs, Plasencia significantly does not employ the term; in his treatise, he refers to the plebeians or commoners as *aliping namamahay.* Op. and loc. cit., 7: 175. Cf. Colin, ibid., 40: 86.

[61] Cf. Morga, in B. and R., 16: 113.

[62] Cf. Morga, in B. and R., 16: 81–82; Colin, ibid., 40: 87–88. See Retana, in Martinez de Zuñiga, 2: 500–501.

[63] Morga, ibid., particularly Rizal's comment on this weapon.

from a short distance no harm will result. They have others made of wood in the manner of breast and back plates for defense; they have an arrow[64] and a lance whose iron [tip] they sometimes poison, which is plentiful in all the Philippine Islands. In some of these islands they use some blow-guns[65] like those in Spain with which they kill birds, and with which they shoot some very small arrows with very sharp iron points through the hole of the blow-gun, and the iron ends of these arrows are full of poison or herb. If they draw blood in the wound they make, [the victim] dies although [the wound] be small. They make many lances of wood and bamboo with the points burned, which they throw often when they fight each other. They have shields[66] made of rattan. They are very strong because they cannot be cut or pierced by any stroke of the blade made on them. In some places they carry on the head some helmets or morions made of fish skin which are very strong. They have corselets made of buffalo skin and some have skin from elephants[67] of which there are some found in an island called Jolo although not as large as those in India.

They have many kinds of ships[68] of very different shapes and names with which they conduct their wars and go sailing. They are for the most part small those they use for wars and on depredations, called *barangays*,[69] and if somewhat large are called *vireyes*.[70] There are very large and wide: fifty people travel in them, and if larger one hundred; all have to row except the chief aboard the ship. The oars of these ships are

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[64] Colin, in B. and R., 40: 87. The use of the bow and arrow in the Philippines at the time of the conquest was widespread. Kroeber, op. cit., 45, 175, and 178.

[65] Colin, in B. and R., 40: 88. Kroeber, ibid.

[66] For different types of shields found in the Philippines, see Kroeber, ibid., 178, 180–182.

[67] On the question of whether elephants existed in the Philippines or not, see Veyra, Jaime C. de, "Hubo elefantes en Filipinas," Cultura Filipina, año 2 (1912) 490 ff. Cf. Retana, in Martinez de Zuñiga, op. cit., 2: App. D, * 428.

[68] Morga, in B. and R., 16: 82–84. An alphabetical list of embarcations used in the Philippines is given by Retana, in Martinez de Zuñiga, op. cit., 2: App. G, * 512–516.

[69] As the oldest name known for a native embarcation, this should properly be *balañgay*. Noceda and San Lucar, Vocabulario (1860) 20. Cf. Retana, in Morga (1909) 489, 490.

[70] Retana, ibid., 490.

a yard long or a bit more with their sticks very well made. These oars are not tied to the boat for rowing, but with the rowers in them seated they row very restfully with both hands. These vessels are very light, with two or three tiers of rowers per band, when they have people for it sitting down; and counter weights are placed in these vessels made of very large bamboos, which are to be found in all the Philippine Islands of the West; these counter weights are placed outside the body of the vessel on both sides, and on them are seated those who row without much difficulty. With these counter weights the vessels travel very safely, because they cannot be surprised or suffer from the high seas unless the vessel is turned over and the waves do not break on the body of the vessel but on the counter weights. They use round sails like ours. They have other ships they call *birocos*[71] which are much larger than those we have said because there are some that can load five hundred or six hundred bushels of wheat. They are also rowed by oars, but are very long and are attached to the ship like ours and have a different form. These are the main ships they have; all the rest are small and are called by many different names, and have different shapes, which need not be treated here not being of much importance.

These people do not have judges nor men deputized for the common good of their republics, nor do they punish the crimes made or committed by any person; but each one who is aggrieved takes unto himself reparation for the injuries inflicted on him. The chiefs do as they please without anybody halting their hand, making slaves of anybody they fancy for the slightest fault and they free them with the same facility they wish without having anybody to restrain their hand, although after the Spaniards had been in the Philippines and had them settled, the Spaniards do not allow or give consent to these tyrannies, by going to the chiefs and others who wish to commit them. Justice officials do the same thing wherever they are.[72]

The buildings[73] and things they have, and the town sites are very poor because they have neither plan, nor order nor harmony in them. They are of wood and very large bamboos, of which there are plenty in all the Philippine Islands of the West, and because they are seven or eight yards and as big as

[71] Ibid.

[72] Cf. the settlement of disputes described by Morga, in B. and R., 16: 121. See also Colin, ibid., 40: 84–86.

[73] Morga, in B. and R., 16: 117–118.

the thigh, they are used in all their buildings and works in making the walls and high floors, cutting them in half and having them one against the other in the manner that basket makers place the osiers when weaving a basket. The towns have no order in their streets or houses, each one builds where palms in the streets and between houses, although in places where the Gospel has been taught the priests have enforced some neatness and order. Ordinarily they have the houses and villages at the banks of the rivers and at edges of swamps and marshes,[74] because they believe it best to bathe [75] daily, men as well as women, once or twice a day, publicly and nakedly, covering their private parts with their hands only until the water covers them.[76] For which reason they are all very good swimmers[77] and fond of staying in the water, men as well as women, because since birth they are taught to swim.

They have this custom in their marriage:[78] when some father wants to marry off his son to the daughter of another man, he comes to an agreement with the latter, what he would give her to marry his son a certain quantity of gold or its equivalent, as they agree upon, depending on the rank of each party. This is given to the girl's father who keeps it until the couple have their own separate house, and then it is given to them.[79] In these marriages the parents of both help each other, in such a manner that the father of the girl makes the father of the groom pay his creditors something on account of the marriage, and what is given to the parents remain with them.

Ordinarily, women are given the *mejora*[80] because they say women cannot earn what is needed and therefore should

[74] Colin, in B. and R., 40: 68.

[75] Regarding the bathing habit of the natives, see Chirino, in B. and R., 12: 212–213; also Morga, in B. and R., 16: 78–79.

[76] Colin, ibid.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Cf. this account with other descriptions of marriage customs by Loarca, in B. and R., 5: 119, 153–161; Plasencia, ibid., 7: 181–184; Morga, ibid., 16: 124–125; and Colin, ibid., 40: 89–90.

[79] The giving away of a dowry called *bigay-kaya* (see note 82, infra) by the man was an important condition of marriage throughout the Philippines.

[80] The Spanish act of leaving by will a larger share than the legatee is entitled to by law.

be given the betterment. They can marry with [any] women they want, although all of them are alive, and for that are not punished.[81] If one wants to unmarry his wife he can do so by leaving her with what he gave her at the time of marriage, which price they call *buguey*[82] and which in Spain we call dowry. If it be the woman who wants to unmarry, she carries nothing with her, and any one of the two can later remarry. If the wife commits adultery, the husband can leave her and take away all that she has, and on finding the adulterer can kill him anywhere without any penalty. If given something he can accept it and forgive her because of it, and with this there are no reproaches, although what is given might be of very little value at the beginning of the marriage. That a woman is not a virgin[83] does not stop them because the rest are by that time corrupt, and they do not mind this or object although they consider it a stigma for an unmarried woman to give birth. Women carry on their arms many bracelets of gold and others of ivory;[84] the men also use these ordinarily. The gold ones are called *ganbanes*[85] and those of ivory *tiposos;*[86] they value highly those of ivory. They carry around their necks chains of gold and consider them as very pleasing and bizarre. Women place around their legs bracelets of gold and brass because they carry them bare up to the knees and wear bracelets around the legs with much festiveness.[87]

Their games and pastimes consist of making roosters fight and for this [purpose] they keep them in their houses well-fed and taken care of; and when the [roosters] fight they place small razors very sharp and pointed made like *fanjuelo* with a lace tied to the legs next to the spur, and in this manner

[81] Loarca, in B. and R., 5: 119. Colin (B. and R., 40: 90) following Chirino (ibid., 12: 293) says: "Polygamy was not the fashion among the Tagalogs." Real polygamy in the Philippines, according to a modern writer, was introduced only by the Mohammedans. Kroeber, op., cit., 155.

[82] Properly *bigay-kaya.* Morga, in B. and R., 16: 125–126. For Rizal's interpretation of the dowry, see ibid, notes 147 and 148, in which he quotes from Colin. Cf. Plasencia, in B. and R., 7: 183.

[83] Loarca, in B. and R., 5: 119; Morga, ibid., 16: 131; Chirino, ibid., 12: 251.

[84] Cf. Morga, ibid., 16: 76.

[85] Morga (ibid.) says the gold ones were called *calombigas.*

[86] See Encarnacion, Diccionario, 410.

[87] Morga, in B. and R., 16: 113.

they make them fight: [88] as a prize the owner of the winning rooster carries away the defeated [fowl] to eat or do with it as he pleases. This is their sole game or pastime [aside from] drinking, which is their leading feast. They have no feastdays,[89] nor special days for anything. Now that the Spaniards are in those places, they have learned from them some games, such as with rings, and checkers, in which there are many good masters, specially in [the game of] rings. Some have turned to cards and play them although there are few of these.

Occupations [90] among them are carpenters who do all carpentry [work] asked of them, such as houses, boxes, boats, benches: boats are made without any need of iron, tar or other bitumen—only with wood and they make them so well that no water can enter; they are in the extreme very neat and well worked on. They have goldsmiths who work on filigree very cunningly. They know how to melt and refine gold very well, and have blacksmiths who make very well from iron any tool asked of them. These are the trades most common among them, and they execute the rest that is asked of them, and in everything they are adept.

In general they are great idlers and enemies of work.[91] They spend more time in a year loitering and drinking; if necessity does not force them, they would leave their fields without planting rice and other things they cultivate for their sustenance. They have neither orchards nor vegetables, nor fruit trees to

[88] Cf. Colin, Labor Evangelica (Pastell's ed.) 1: 81–82. For a much later report on the subject, see: Martinez de Zuñiga, 1: 301–303. Cockfighting appears to be not an indigenous but an imported pastime, if we are to believe the authorities who say that it was introduced by the early Spaniards from Mexico. Jagor, F., Travels (London, 1875) 27; Artigas y Cuerva, Manuel, in Marco, Jose E., Reseña Historica de la Isla de Negros (Manila, 1913) 56–59, note 2.

[89] See supra, note 52.

[90] Morga, in B. and R., 16: 114. Other occupations are given by him when he says: "The women have needlework as their employment and occupation, and they are clever at it, and at all kinds of sewing. They weave cloth and spin cotton, and serve in the houses of their husbands and fathers . . . They raise fowls and swine, and keep the houses, while the men are engaged in the labors of the field and in their fishing, navigation, and trading." Ibid., 16: 79. See also Colin, ibid., 40: 87.

[91] Referring to the native indolence, see Rizal, Jose, "Sobre la indolencia de los Filipinos," La Solidaridad, nos. 35–39, July 15, 31, Aug. 15, 31, and Sept. 15, 1890.

cultivate, because all their fruits are wild and sour and of bad taste, and are for the giving; only the bananas are good, and of these there is a large quantity and diversity and type which they cultivate in their homes and fields with some sugarcane, potatoes and camotes, of which also there is an abundance.

They are not accustomed to sleep in beds nor do they have them, although they find them comfortable, because they could make them from a certain thing taken from trees which they call in their tongue *baro*,[92] which serves as mattresses like wool. They sleep on the floor of their houses, in the elevated portion which they inhabit, as the portion below is not used.[93] They place beneath their bodies only some palm mats. Others sleep on some hammocks made of cotton cloth, which they hang with two pieces of rope from the poles or bamboos of the house, and in this manner are their beds.

Women dislike to give birth many times,[94] specially those who inhabit the towns near the sea, saying that in having many children they are like pigs, for which reason after having one or two [children] the next time they get pregnant, when they are already three or four months [with child], they kill the creature in their body and abort. There are women for this calling and by massaging the stomach and placing certain herbs the creature later dies and the pregnant woman aborts. Those who are not married are also accustomed to do this when they are pregnant because they consider it a disgrace to have children when they are not married, although they do not have to answer for this to the men as they are unmarried and live with them in concubinage. All ordinarily love working—unlike the men—because they sew, work, spin and weave cloths of cotton and other things they wear; they go to the fields and work, doing the jobs of men.[95] In general, they are much given to the vice of the flesh and are selfish; they do not know how to be grateful for any good done for them. The men are the same; although much is given them they rarely are grateful or know how to repay what is given them, because their business is founded on self-interest, in which there can be no virtue.

[92] Merrill (Enumeration, 2: 356) identifies a tree bearing this name (in Sulu) as *Garuga littorialis* Merr. var. *paucijuga* Merr., a Meliaceae.

[93] Morga, in B. and R., 16: 118.

[94] Loarca, in B. and R., 5: 119.

[95] See supra, note 89.

Among these people there are three kinds and species of slaves:[96] those whom they call *hayo heyes,*[97] who serve within the homes, which they have to attend, and while they are single. They do everything ordered them and upon marriage make their own home, and while childless they render the same service they rendered while in the homes of their masters two out of five days of the week, and therefore are slaves of the second type called *tuheyes;*[98] and upon having children they free themselves of the days of service to their master. If they beget many children, they do not serve at all, saying they have enough working for a living for their children. A third type of slaves are called *horo-hanes.*[99] They have name of slaves only, because they do not serve in any manner except when their masters leave for some war; then they serve as rowers to ships that go to sea, and if on land they serve as common soldiers. These are brought to their homes during certain celebrations as if guests, and when these slaves die without offspring their estates are taken by their masters, and if they have children such offspring do not serve the masters of their father while he is alive. Much later when their father dies they have to serve their masters in the place of their father and in the same work he had, this being an inviolable law among them. The chiefs likewise make slaves of those who kill somebody or who commit adultery; and this is, if he has nothing with which to pay for the killing or adultery committed; and in this they pardon nobody although their relative; and the penalty for these offenses is [the payment] of a certain quantity of gold or its value, which in Spain would be fifteen ducats more or less, inability to pay which renders them slaves.

Parents are accustomed to sell their children and brothers to brothers in time of need and hunger,[100] and those sold become

[96] Loarca enumerates three kinds of slaves: the *ayuey,* the *tumarampoc,* and the *tomataban.* Loarca, in B. and R., 5: 143–145.

[97] Or *ayuey,* according to Loarca, ibid., 5: 143. This observer says that such a slave worked three days for the master and one for himself. Ibid.

[98] Not in Loarca who has, however, *tumarampoc* as the second type of slave, who worked one day out of four for the master. Ibid.

[99] Must be the *tomataban* of Loarca, who worked "in the house of the master only when there is some banquet or revel." Ibid.

[100] This custom appears unreported by other writers. Cf. Morga (B. and R., 16: 126) who records instead adoption between one by another; a practice that, according to Rizal, still existed in his time. Morga, ibid., note 149.

slaves forever. They do not lend each other anything, and when they do they have to serve personally until [the debt is] actually paid, without discounting the time they have served, regardless of whether or not it is one brother with another. Likewise in this way one can become a slave because he is given food and other necessities for being so poor that he has nothing to sustain himself; and there are many who for this alone have become slaves. There are many other ways and kinds by which the chiefs make slaves and which are so many that I shall not mention them here in order not to tire the reader, but I shall speak only of two: one is because somebody passed beside a chief, or if the chief collides with him because he was not quick enough [to get out of the way] he is made a slave. And if somebody enters or walks in the water in the field belonging to the chief, he is made a slave. And in this tune follow the other ways of making slaves. They have neither law nor custom to penalize anybody for any crime with death.[101] They can only make them slaves, as we have said, but cannot kill them in any manner.

They have for brothers only the children of the same father and mother, and if the father or the mother married a second time and from the marriage they have a child, the offspring of the first marriage do not consider as brothers the offspring of the second marriage, nor do they call them such because only the children of the same father and mother are thus called. They are not accustomed to marry these brothers of the same father or mother; this is the only difference because they get married with anybody related in any degree outside of their father and mother, or brothers, and with these [half] brothers only those we have said whom they neither hold nor call as brothers.

The ceremonies[102] these people have for the dead are: if a certain chief dies they place him in a wooden coffin and put it on the elevated floor of the house, and every night his slaves light him with bamboo torches which they usually use for this purpose.[103] They do this for more than two successive months. They kill some of the slaves of the dead in the same way he

[101] Loarca, in B. and R., 5: 143.

[102] Other descriptions of local mortuary customs are those of Loarca, in B. and R., 5: 129–141; Plasencia, ibid., 7: 194–196; Morga, ibid., 16: 133; Chirino, ibid., 12 302–303; and Colin, ibid., 40: 79–82.

[103] Loarca, in B. and R., 5: 135. Cf. Chirino, ibid., 12: 304.

had died; that is, if he was drowned they also drown the slaves in the water; and if he had died from a stabbing, they kill them by stabbing; in that way the slaves die in the same manner as their master.[104] If he dies from some sickness, the slaves are drowned or buried alive, saying that it is necessary to do this so that the slaves who are killed in the manner we have said may go to the other world to serve their masters. They give them food, placing beside this some household pots and plates beneath the house, with some food hanging from the sidings of the house, saying that this is for the deceased to eat. They are accustomed to bury the chiefs in some ships called *barangay*[105] together with many of his live slaves and much food, dresses and jewels, saying that the slaves are to serve him when he goes navigating in the sea.

In matters of food there is nothing curious because they know not how to dress food nor have they some skill for it: their ordinary food is some rice cooked in water only and a little fish dried in the sun which [*word not understood*] and this they have for food.[106] They also have some chickens and pigs and deer of which there is an abundance in the Philippines and buffalos, which are found in some parts of these isles, very large and fierce. They have wine of many kinds, because they make them from rice, palms, coconuts and bananas, and other species of palms which they raise in the marshy places and which they call in their tongue *nipa*.[107] This is a reasonable wine with which they get drunk. What they ordinarily drink is wine from rice which they call *pangasi*.[108]

When they make friends with those whom they are at war or with others, some are accustomed to take a little blood from the arms or other part of the body and give it to drink to those who wish to become their friends and the others do likewise and in this way they say peace and friendship are made perfectly and that it would not break.[109]

[104] Loarca, ibid.; Chirino, ibid., 12: 303; Colin, ibid., 40: 80.

[105] Cf. Colin, ibid., 40: 81.

[106] Morga, in B. and R., 16: 79–80; Colin, ibid., 40: 64–65.

[107] *Nypa fruticans* Wurmb. Quisumbing, op. cit., 136.

[108] The method of preparing this wine from rice is described by Colin, 40: 66–67.

[109] The most historic blood compact celebrated in the Philippines is that entered into between Dato Sikatuna of Bohol and Miguel Lopez de Legaspi in 1565, which has been immortalized on canvas by Juan Luna, famous Filipino painter, which is found exposed at Malacañan, official residence of the President of the Philippines.

They are also accustomed to blacken or redden the teeth,[110] doing it precisely on purpose in this manner with a certain juice or herb which they are accustomed to have in their mouths; some have teeth enclosed in gold; the women specially do this with the gold in the denture in a fashion of [Spanish] ladies-in-waiting, so well-set in the teeth that it appears as if it had grown together with the teeth; and they place this in such a way that the gold never falls.[111] There are among them for this need very great artisans.

They have no kind of music nor musical instrument[112] except some like guitars or rebecks that have three or four strings of wire which they play without beauty or harmony. With these they use some trumpets made of bamboo which they play in the same way we do with trumpets from Paris, placing them in the mouth, blowing through a reed made from the same bamboo and playing with the fingers. This is their only music, and when they go rowing in ships they sing with it, sometimes quickening and sometimes slowing down the stroke.

Finally, in the sin of the flesh, they are used to a thing which is the newest and never hitherto seen nor heard—which seems to be the guide to vice and bestiality that they have in this particular. The men commonly place on their genital member and ordinarily carry in it a certain wheel or ring with round spurs in the form [drawn] on this margin, which they make of of lead or brass and some of gold. (Plate 16) They have holes in the round part of the wheel or ring, one in the upper and the other in the lower part through which they put a small pin or nail of the same metal as the ring, and with which they pierce the lower part of the prepuce, and thus the wheel or ring is placed on the very genital in the same way that a ring is put on the finger. Thus they have access with the women, with whom they remain for a day or a night in the way dogs do a similar act, after completing which they remain immensely

[110] Morga, in B. and R., 16: 78; Chirino, ibid., 12: 187; Colin, ibid., 40: 61. Rizal notes that blackening the teeth existed among married women of Japan to signify their chastity. Morga, loc. cit, note 56.

[111] Colin, in B. and R., 40: 61.

[112] Colin (B. and R., 40: 68) reports the *coryapi*, which Chirino (B. and R., 12: 241) spells as *cutyapi*, as one such instrument. Romualdez reports no less than 10 percussion, 9 wind, and 9 stringed instruments of the Filipinos of long ago. According to this authority, the *coryapi* reveals details denoting Chinese influence. Romualdez, Norberto, Filipino Musical Instruments and Airs of Long Ago (Manila, c1932) 24.

satisfied, specially the women.[113] Some wheels or rings[114] are very large, there being more than 30 kinds, each with a different name, and in general a name sacred in their language. The Spaniards have had special care after coming among these people to abolish this abominable and bestial custom among the natives, punishing with beatings those who wear them, and in spite of this they continue to wear and make them; and it is very common for them to carry the comb or nail which enters through the holes of the wheel or ring, and placing [the nail] in the member of the man continuously therein, so that the hole may not close or in order not to be bothered with the time in putting the ring or wheel—a custom invented by the devil so that men may offend more with this vice our Lord God.

This is what we have described thus far. These are the rituals, ceremonies, usages and customs we have learned of the Bisayans and people who inhabit these Philippine Islands of the West, from the oldest persons and leading chiefs amongst them, because these are the best informed verbally on their past, transmitted from one to another from time immemorial, and which they sing in their songs where their origin, their wars and other things we have said are told;[115] because they have nothing written or to show except in their songs which they call in their tongue *biaus*.[116]

[113] The first European to record this custom was Pigafetta. He wrote (B. and R., 33: 171, 173): "The males, large and small, have their penis pierced from one side to the other near the head, with a gold or tin bolt as large as a goose quill. In both ends of the same bolt, some have what resembles a spur, with points upon the ends; others are like head of a cart nail. I very often asked many, both young and old, to see their penis, because I could not credit it. In the middle of the bolt is a hole, through which they urinate. The bolt and the spurs always hold firm. They say that their women wish it so, and that if they did otherwise they would not have communication with them. When the men wish to have communication with their women, the latter themselves take the penis not in the regular way and commence very gently to introduce it into their vagina with the spur on top first, and then the other part. When it is inside it takes its regular position; and thus the penis always stays inside until it gets soft, for otherwise they could not pull it out. Those people make use of that device because they are of a weak nature." The custom is also reported by Loarca (B. and R., 5: 117) and Morga (ibid., 16: 130).

[114] Morga gives the name *sagras* to these devices. Morga, loc. cit.

[115] Cf. Chirino, in B. and R., 12: 263.

[116] As a term for a native song or poem, see Encarnacion, Diccionario, 43.

CUSTOMS AND USAGES OF MOROS[117] IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLES OF THE WEST

Those whom they call Moros in the islands of the West are not so because they are Moros who observe the rites and ceremonies of Mahomet, as they are not, nor do they have anything of the Moro except only in name; but because after we the Spaniards arrived here we thought that they were Moros, and that they had some rites of Mahomet, because we found among them many signs thereof, on account of [the fact] that the natives of the island of Borney came to these islands to trade. These [people] from Borney are Moros like the Berbers and follow the law of Mahomet, which they began teaching [the natives of] the Philippines, such as circumcision and not eating the flesh of pigs and other minor laws of Mahomet: in this manner came the way the name Moro was applied. In reality they are Gentiles and have almost the same customs and modes of living as the Bisayans, although in the matter of creation of the world or of man, they feel differently because they have greater light of reason, are more lively and ingenious. Thus they do things with greater order and harmony than the Bisayans, and because all what we say occurs in this way: The Moros of the Philippines have [the belief] that the earth, the sky and everything therein were created and made by only one God, which they call in their tongue *Bachtala napal nanca calgna salahat*,[118] which means God the creator and preserver of all things. They call him by the other name of Mulayri.[119] They say that this their God was in the atmosphere before there was sky or earth or other things, and that it was eternal, and not made nor created by anybody and that he alone made and created everything we have said solely on his own will to make something as beautiful as the sky and the land, and that he did

[117] In reality the Tagalogs of Luzon. How they came to be known as Moros is explained in the beginning of this section. Cf. Morga, in B. and R., 16: 134. The same term is used by Loarca (B. and R., 5: 171) for the natives "in the vicinity of Manila." As a generic, not ethnographic, term meaning the Mohammedanized Filipinos it should apply to the peoples of Mindanao and Sulu, who are not the ones dealt with in this section.

[118] Cf. Colin, in B. and R., 40: 69–70; San Antonio, ibid. 40: 333. This appears to be a garbled rendition of *Bathala na may kapangyarihan sa lahat* (God, the Almighty).

[119] Should be *May-ari* (in Tagalog), an indirect appellation of God. See infra, note 174.

it and created from the earth a man and a woman from whom all men and generations in the world have descended.[120]

They say further that when their ancestors had news of this god which they have as for their highest it was through some male prophets whose names they no longer know, because as they have neither writings nor those to teach them, they have forgotten the very names of these prophets, aside from what they know of them who in their tongue are called *tagapagbasa nan sulatan a dios;* which means readers of the writings of god; from whom they have learned about this god, saying what we have already told about the creation of the world, people, and about the rest. This they adore and worship and in certain meetings held in their homes—because they have no temples[121] for this purpose nor are used to it—they have feasts where they eat and drink very splendidly; in the presence of some persons whom they call in their tongue *catolonas*[122] who are like priests.

Of these there are men and women who they say do so; that is, say certain prayers or secret words, with some food or liquid offering, asking for the well-being of he who makes that sacrifice; at the same time throwing some kinds of bones or *lots,* to which they are also accustomed; and for this purpose the *catolonas* or priests are given a certain payment[123] for doing this sacrifice.

They likewise have many other gods whom they say serve them for some other particular thing, whom they say their ancestors invented and created; saying they have need of them; such as the god they call Lacanbaco[124] whom they have as god of fruits of the earth. For this purpose they hold on occasion a drinking feast in the fields under a covering which they have for this purpose; in which they erect a sort of an altar and a wooden statue which they say is the god Lacanbaco with teeth and eyes of gold, the genitals gilded and of the size they

[120] This belief is undoubtedly the result of the Christian influence upon the natives and cannot be considered as indigenous.

[121] See supra, note 52.

[122] Plasencia, in B. and R., 7: 190, 192; Morga, ibid., 16: 132; Colin, ibid., 40: 74. For a lengthy treatment of this term, see Llanes, op. and loc. cit., 6 (1957) 120–122.

[123] Colin, ibid., 40: 77. Cf. San Antonio, ibid., 40: 344.

[124] Properly *lakan-bakod,* an anito which, according to Reyes (Antigua Religion, 114) dwells in certain kinds of plants used as fences. Cf. Llanes, op. and loc. cit., 7 (1958) 54.

want—it may be the spike of their rice—and the body is all hollow. Around it those who are offering the sacrifice eat and feast, and the priests we have mentioned place in the mouth of the god Lacanbaco the food they eat and give him to drink the wine they have; and by saying some superstitious words they ascertain that he will give them very good and abundant fruits asked of him.

They have another who they say is the god of the fields and mountains whom they call Oinon sana,[125] to whom sacrifices of some food are made by the same priests called *catolonas,* who say some words asking this god that when walking over the fields and mountains he do them no harm, nor cause them any, saying he is powerful to do them evil and harm and why he should not do so. They do this sacrifice and hold this gathering because they like it and because they fear greatly this god.

They have another called Lacapati,[126] to whom they make the same sacrifices of food and words, asking him for water for their fields and for him to give them fish when they go fishing in the sea, saying if they do not do this they would not have water for their fields and much less would they have any fish when they go fishing.

They have another they call Hayc.[127] This they consider as god of the sea to whom they also make the sacrifice of banquets and food by the same priests, asking him to free them of storms and squalls when traveling on the sea, and that he grant them good weather and favorable winds—regarding him as powerful for this purpose.

They also have as god the moon[128] which they adore and revere whenever it is new, asking it life and riches because they believe and they have it for certain it can do so completely and lengthen their life.

They also have their grandparents as gods,[129] saying they are

[125] We have no known source identifying this alleged deity.

[126] Properly *Lakan-pati,* an idol of the Tagalogs, according to Noceda and San Lucar, which intercedes for them in the fields. Cf. Blumentritt, in Retana, Archivo, 2: 59.

[127] We have not been able to identify this so-called deity.

[128] Plasencia, in B. and R., 7: 186; Morga, ibid., 16: 131; Colin, ibid., 40: 70.

[129] Certainly not as gods, but as spirits. Respect for parents and elders was so deeply ingrained among the natives that those deceased were numbered among these. Cf. Reyes, Isabelo, Antigua Religion, 114. Chirino says: "It was a general practice for anyone who could successfully do so to attribute divinity to his old father when the latter died." B. and R., 12: 264.

in the air always looking over them and that the illness they have are given or removed by their grandparents; and thus they hold many banquets and drinking feasts by the same priests. When they are sick, and having implored the priest for the health of the sick person, in the presence of many, the priest takes a *buyo*[130] which is a certain food from a nut to be found in the Philippines and a leaf wrapped around the nut which they usually chew in all these islands, because it is good for the stomach and the denture,[131] and they offer this nut to all persons present at the sacrifice so as not to become ill like the sick person and with this they ask their grandparents to give them health in their maladies.

They have other rituals and oments,[132] such as if they dream something not suitable to what they want to do when they leave their houses for some place, or if they sneeze or hear the song of a bird[133] which they call *bactala,* or if some rat or other animal cross when they want to leave their houses,[134] they return and in three days do not leave for that road or destination; afterwards they proceed. And if some of these we have described occur on the road or in any part thereof, they turn around for their homes in the belief that nothing good would befall them. And if they go to war they do the same as that we have said of the Bisayans;[135] in taking an oath they say the same words as the Bisayans,[136] although in addition the Moros have some small idols in their hands when they make the oath, made of clay or metal and very ugly with a part thereof removed. They call this [oath] *çumpa* in which they swear with the words we have described adding "may I be broken like this çumpa if what I say is not true," in the belief that, if they lie, what they say in their oath would come to pass. When they want to find out the truth among them, to be assured of the truth, they do this: they go to the deepest part of the river, each one takes a piece of stick in the hand and submerges himself, saying that he who stays

[130] See supra, note 9.

[131] Morga, in B. and R., 16: 98.

[132] See supra, note 22.

[133] Plasencia, in B. and R., 7: 189.

[134] Ibid. Cf. Chirino, 12: 267.

[135] Loarca, in B. and R., 5: 149.

[136] See supra, note 50.

longest underneath without breathing tells the truth.[137] And thus do they submerge themselves in the water, and he who stays underneath the longest tells the truth and is given justice, while the other is condemned. This is the most common proof of telling the truth among them.

They have no king among them nor persons deputized to administer justice, nor personages for government[138]—in this, they are the same as the Bisayans; the chiefs do as they please, removing and giving lands they wish for little reason, although it is true that the Moros are more amenable to reason and are more orderly and harmonious in their affairs and in their way of life [than the Bisayans] and have the advantage in all reasonable matters. They have better houses and buildings, more orderly, although located in swampy land or along river banks.[139] The Moros are dressed with cotton clothes and are not naked like the Bisayans. Their clothes[140] consist of [*words not understood*] and without collars; and with their sleeves and their [*word not understood*] they come dressed, although they wear below the waist some mantle well located, which covers the flesh up to the knees, because below that their legs protrude. From the calf to the knees they wear many chainlets often made of brass which they call *bitiques;*[141] these are worn only by the men who regard them as very stylish. They also wear many golden chains around the neck,[142] specially if they are chiefs, because these are what they value most, and there are some who wear more than ten or twelve of these chains. They wear a head-dress of small cloth which is neither wide nor long and which they wrap once around the head with a knot.[143] They do not have long hair[144] because they cut it as in Spain. They

[137] Colin, in B. and R., 40: 85. See Rizal, who quotes from Colin, in Morga, ibid., 16: 128, note 153.

[138] Morga, in B. and R., 16: 119.

[139] See sufra, note 75.

[140] These must be the *cangan* garments observed by Morga, also collarless, sewed together in front, and with short sleeves, and reaching slightly below the waist. Morga, in B. and R., 16: 75. Cf. Colin, ibid., 40: 62.

[141] *Bitik* or *ligas*, in Serrano-Laktaw, 136. These chainlets or garters were of precious stones, or certain cords of many strands or colors. Morga, in B. and R., 16: 77; Colin, ibid, 40: 62.

[142] Morga, ibid., Colin, ibid. Cf. Chirino, ibid., 12: 186.

[143] The *putong*. See supra, note 32.

[144] Cf. Colin (B. and R., 40: 60) who says "the Tagalogs wore the hair hanging to the shoulder.

are not accustomed to wearing a beard, nor allowing it to grow although in general they are all hairy; what grows is carefully removed;[145] and the Bisayans do likewise. The Moros wear only mustaches which they do not remove and allow to grow all they can. The Bisayans[146] in no manner are accustomed to wear any shoes[147] nor do the men wear ear holes as do the Bisayans: the women carry much gold jewelry because they are richer than the Bisayans. Men and women also wear many bracelets and chains of gold in the arms. They are not used to wearing them on the legs. Women likewise carry around the neck golden chains that men do. The Moros do not paint any part of their body. (See Plates 11 to 15) There is some difference in language, although everybody understand each other, because they are like Castilian and Portuguese and even more similar. They are very fond of trading, selling and bargaining with each other; thus they are great merchants and very cunning in their dealings. They are very fond of making money and try every way of earning it. They like to serve on Spaniards and wait at their tables.

They count the year by moons and from one harvest to another. They have certain characters that serve them as letters with which they write what they want.[148] They are very different looking from the rest that we know up to now. Women commonly know how to write with them and when they write do so on the bark of certain pieces of bamboo, of which there are in the islands. In using these pieces which are four fingers wide, they do not write with ink but with some stylus that breaks the surface and bark of the bamboo, to write the letters.[149] They have neither books nor histories, and they do not write at length except missives and notes to one another. For this purpose they have letters which total only seventeen.[150] Each

[145] Cf. Colin (ibid., 40: 61) who says they "did not glory in their mustaches or beards," removing these on purpose.

[146] I.e., the Tagalogs.

[147] Morga, in B. and R., 16: 76; Colin, ibid., 40: 62.

[148] Morga, in B. and R., 16: 116. Chirino writes: "All these islanders are much given to reading and writing, and there is hardly a man, and much less a woman, who does not read and write in letters used in the island of Manila . . ." Chirino, ibid., 12: 242.

[149] Morga, in B. and R., 16: 116; Chirino ibid., 12: 243.

[150] Both Morga (B. and R., 16: 116) and Chirino (ibid., 12: 242) count 15, three vowels and 12 consonants. Cf. Colin, ibid., 40: 49.

letter is a syllable and with certain points placed to one side or the other of a letter, or above or below, they compose words and write and say with these whatever they wish. It is very easy to learn this and any person can do so in two months of studying. They are not so quick in writing, because they do it very slowly. The same thing is in reading; which is like when schoolchildren do their spelling.

Their towns are also located and peopled at the swampy lands and where there are rivers,[151] as in the Bisayas, because they are accustomed to bathing as the others twice a day.[152] They have greater order and neatness in their buildings and other things than the Bisayans, even though there are trees and coconut palms in the streets. There are among the Moros the same carpenters, blacksmiths, jewelers and other artisans to make bronze cannons[153] which they also use and had at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards in the Philippines, but which they no longer have now because the Spaniards have taken them away. They were all pikemen because the most they had were some falconets and many small culverins; large pieces they had none nor made them, although now they know very well how to make and cast them.

They do not eat the flesh of pigs, as we have said, because they got the custom from the Mohammedans from Borney who came to trade with them, together with other things the sect of Mohammed taught them. They eat the flesh of goats, buffalos, chickens and ducks which they have and breed.[154] The Bisayans do not eat the meat of goats, and not one or the other eat cheese or milk because it is very loathsome to them. They

[151] Morga, ibid., 16: 117; Colin, ibid., 40: 68.

[152] Colin, ibid. See note 75, supra.

[153] One such person versed in their manufacture was Pandapira [or Panday (blacksmith) Pira], supposed to have been a native of Pampanga. Morga, in B. and R., 15: 62. Pandapira's knowledge was limited to small pieces, as shown by the fact that in 1587 when Governor Santiago de Vera needed the founding of bigger pieces, he had to import a founder for the cannons from Mexico. Vera's letter to the Virrey of Mexico, dated 26 June 1587, quoted by Retana in his Morga (Madrid, 1909) 406, note 50. Blumentritt observes that because a Portuguese headed the foundry found by the Spaniards in Manila in 1570, the making of such pieces was imparted by Portuguese adventurers. Blumentritt, Ferdinand, "Filipinas en tiempo de la conquista," Bol. de la Soc. Geog. 21 (1886) 217, cited in Retana, op. and loc cit.

[154] Colin, in B. and R., 40: 64.

usually hold many drinking feasts[155] because these are their main entertainment and cockfighting[156] as we have said. Among the Bisayans[157] the wine they drink is taken and made from the coconut palm; what they obtain fresh from the palms is sweet like the juice of grapes, which they call in their tongue *tupa*.[158]

The dress of the women[159] are not as neat nor as elegant as that of the Bisayans, because they wrap a cotton or taffeta mantle around the body with very little polish. They wear jackets and skirts in the same way we have told as the Bisayans. They also wear their dress over the skin, gathering it at the waist and the breasts because they use no chemise or shoes. The [wives of] chiefs, when going out of their houses, are customarily carried on the shoulders[160] of their slaves and in this manner travel through the streets. All carry over their dress some small mantles which reach the waists: they are of cotton and colored, and some are of satin, and taffeta and damask obtained from China.

In marriages they follow the same [customs] as the Bisayans;[161] likewise in the matter of slaves and in making friends with their enemies and with those who come to their towns. They are also accustomed to make their teeth black or red,[162] and for this purpose they do what we have said the Bisayans do, because they consider it stylish. They have no kind of music except the guitars[163] which we said the Bisayans have, which they play with more dexterity than the Bisayans, specially the women who play them as if they were speaking to each other. And thus often when one is in his house and a sweetheart is in another nearby where the guitars can be heard, they play tunes with which they understand each other. Not everybody

[155] See supra, note 19.

[156] See supra, note 88.

[157] I. e., the Tagalogs.

[158] Properly *tuba*. Morga, in B. and R., 16: 80; Colin, ibid., 40: 66.

[159] See page 397 for manner of dressing of the Bisayans.

[160] This observation varies with that of Morga (B. and R., 16: 79) who says that the slaves only accompanied them, not carried them on the shoulder.

[161] See p. 410 for description of marriage among the Bisayans. See supra, note 78.

[162] Morga, in B. and R., 16: 78.

[163] See supra, note 112.

knows how to do this because they learn and teach themselves how to do this in the same way as the blind in Spain.

When a person dies they make a coffin of wood in which the [corpse] is placed;[164] they wash the body and anoint it with some fragrant unguents;[165] placing some mantles and no other thing in the coffin which they bury underneath the earth. They do not place gold or any jewelries the way the Bisayans do.[166] Afterwards the living debtors of the deceased fast for one whole year without eating except herbs and wild fruits and bananas—and this they call *magarahe*.[167] The Bisayans do likewise, but not to such a length of time. The Moro who dies is placed within it; they bury a slave of his, placing him alive below the coffin at the head of the deceased, so that he may serve him in the other world.[168]

In the inheritance of their parents' estate, all children, whether bastards or adulterous, have a share, although not in the same quantity or part as the legitimate children.[169] They marry with all their relatives except with brothers. They are not accustomed to sleep on beds because in this respect they do the same as we said the Bisayans[170] do. They also consider it a dishonor for an unmarried woman to give birth, and they kill the offspring as do the Bisayans; although among the married women it is no affront to have many births which they think it is good and thus they do not abort or kill the offspring as we have said the married Bisayan do. In general they are very depraved in matters of the flesh and indulge in it more than the Bisayans. They can marry the women they want while living and do the same things to them as we have said the

[164] See p. 415 for mortuary custom of the Bisayans. Cf. the mortuary customs given by Loarca (B. and R., 5: 129–141), by Plasencia (ibid., 7: 194–196), by Morga (ibid., 16: 133), and by Colin (ibid., 40: 79–82).

[165] Chirino, in B. and R., 12: 302; Colin, ibid., 40: 79.

[166] Colin (ibid.) says the body is adorned with rich jewels, and with sheets of gold over the mouth and eyes. Cf. Chirino, ibid., 12: 303.

[167] This must be Loarca's *maglahe*, which also lasts for a year. B. and R., 5: 137. For women, Loarca (ibid.) has *morotal*. Colin (B. and R. 40: 81) says this kind of mourning was called *sipa* by the Tagalogs.

[168] Loarca, in B. and R., 5: 135. Cf. Chirino, ibid., 12: 303; Colin, ibid., 40: 80.

[169] Cf. description of the inheritance system by Loarca, in B. and R., 5: 153; by Plasencia, ibid., 7: 181, 182; and by Morga, ibid., 16: 125, 127.

[170] Cf. Loarca, ibid., 5: 119.

Bisayans do;[171] in this particular they observe the same order when they marry.

They also have many kinds of ships with many different names that serve them for their commerce and their wars and are almost like those of the Bisayans,[172] although not so good or well-done.

Women are used to carry on their heads over their hair, which they wear loose, diadems made of gold, this if of the chief's women; if of others, the diadems are made of tortoise or conch shell. These are very elegant. They likewise have among themselves many wars and differences with their neighboring towns, wherein they do the same things we have said of the Bisayans. They use and carry the same weapons. The chiefs do everything they want to do without anybody raising a hindering hand.

These are the customary things among the Moros and Bisayans of the Philippine Islands about which we have learned up to now.

ACCOUNT OF THE PAGAN RITES AND CEREMONIES OF THE INDIANS OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

Although it is true that in these islands of Luzon, Panay and Cebu there is an infinity of languages, one different from the others and as a consequence different garbs—some very barbaric, others of medium and still others of very high conception—almost all agree as to pagan rites and ceremonies; and if in some parts they differ somewhat, the degree is so slight that it would be inconvenient to dwell on each nation of these [people] and thus we can reach a conclusion on all of them.

Regarding the first it is to be noted that these people have and revere one God, the maker of all things, whom some call Bathala,[173] other Molaiari,[174] others Dioata;[175] and although they

[171] Cf. ibid., and see supra, note 80.

[172] See p. 408, supra.

[173] For a lengthy discussion of term, see Llanes, op. and loc. cit., 5 (1956) 51–54.

[174] Probably a garbled rendition for *May-ari*. See supra, p. 419, where it is *Mulayri*, and note 119; see also infra, p. 434, where it is *Molayare*.

[175] Correctly, *diwata*. Not the name of a god, but a term employed referring to spirits, the equivalent of the *anitos* in Tagalog. Colin (Pastell's ed.), 1: 65. Cf. Blumentritt, in Retana, Archivo 2: 45. For a more detailed description of the term, see Llanes, op. and loc. cit., 5 (1956) 79–82.

profess belief in this God as the creator of all things, they neither know nor have explanation when He made, nor how or why His abode in heaven.

They have always known, and have knowledge of, that they have a soul[176] which on leaving the body goes to a certain place that some call *casan*[177] and others *maca*.[178] They say this is divided into two large towns; an arm is in the middle of the sea, which some say is for the soul of mariners who are dressed in white; and the other is for the rest who are dressed in red for greater attraction. They say that the souls who inhabit these places die seven times, and some others are resuscitated and undergo the same travail and miseries that they undergo in their bodies in this world; but they have the power to remove and give health, which they effect through the air; and for this reason they revere and ask of them for help by holding drinking feasts.

They usually eat pigs, chickens and the best dish and dressed food made in their own way. Parents and neighbors join and sing and dance to the tune of drums and bells and the beating of palms and cries. They build altars with [*illegible*] adorned by the best mantles and golden ornaments they have [*illlegible*]. They offer everything to the *anito*, whom they call by that name. They invoke the *maguan*, smearing certain parts of their body with the blood of what had died, believing that it would give them health and long life. All of this is administered by a priest dressed in female garb. They call him *bayog* or *bayoguin;*[179] another woman for the same office they call *catolonan*. This feast terminates when everybody or most of them gets drunk: this is called *maganito* by the Indians. What the *maganito* is has already been said. Let us tell about the priests and priestesses they have, and what is attached to their office and consecutively later the rites and ceremonies in particular affairs that the Indians have and use.

[176] This knowledge of the soul is confirmed by their belief concerning its destination at death which, according to Loarca, is the infernal region. Loarca, in B. and R., 5: 131.

[177] Probably an abbreviation for "*casanaan*", a place of anguish or hell. Plasencia, in B. and R., 7: 196. The unknown author of the present work has *sular* for this place among the Bisayans. See supra, note 41.

[178] A village of rest or paradise, according to Plasencia. Ibid. Blumentritt spells it as *makang*. His Diccionario, in Retana, Archivo, 2: 77. Cf. Llanes, op. and loc. cit., 7 (1958) 131.

[179] See Llanes, op. and loc. cit., 5 (1956) 58.

Although these Indians have no temples, they have priests and priestesses who are the principal persons of their ceremonies, rites and omens, and to whom all the important affairs are entrusted, paying them well for their labor. Ordinarily they dress as women, act like prudes and are so effeminate that one who does not know them would believe they are women. Almost all are impotent for the reproductive act, and thus they marry other males and sleep with them as man and wife and have carnal knowledge. Finally, these [*word not understood*]. These are called *bayog* or *bayoguin*. The priestesses are usually old and their function is to cure the sick with superstitious words, or assist in drinking feast by invoking the spirits of their ancestors for their purpose and conducting the ceremonies which we shall see. The function of the priests is to help in all occasions; in general, to help the priestesses invoke the spirits, although with more pomp, ceremony and authority. There are also other kinds of the latter who are called *catolonan* whose function is proper to the priestesses, and neither these nor the priestesses have such authority as those dressed in women's clothes. Finally, neither one nor the other are witches, and when they perform witchcraft or deceits it is for the purpose of emptying the pockets of the ignorant people.

When sick they use many kinds of rites, some with more paraphernalia and others less, depending on the quality of each, because principal persons ordinarily hold *maganitos* or drinking feasts in the manner we have said, assisted by one or more priests who invokes his *anitos* which, they say, come and which those present hear as a noise like that of the flute which the priests say is that of the *anito* who speaks and says that the sick person would have health: the feast thereupon proceeds with great merriment. And if the sick man dies, after the *anito* had said he would get well, the priest gives as an excuse that the intention of his *anito* was good but that other *anitos* more powerful intervened. There are those who light a sheaf of grass and throw it out of the window, saying that by doing so the bad *anitos* responsible for the malady would be scared into leaving. Others cast lots by tying a string to their hand, a piece of wood, or the tooth of a crocodile, and manipulating it themselves, saying that the cause of the malady of one is so-and-so or is not so-and-so, and since the omens are manipulated by them as they please, it is evident that they can foretell whatever they please or what is certain. Some

who are not so well-to-do offer a little cooked rice and a bit of fish and wine, requesting of the *anito* for health; others offer a moderate drinking feast to the *anito* in which assists a priestess or a priest of the sick, whom they call *catalonan,* who administers what is needed and then says and the cause of the illness is that the soul has left the body and until it returns the sick would not recover. Later the sick asks him to order the return [of his soul] and for this they pay him in advance according to agreement. Later the *catalonan* goes to a corner alone talking to himself and after a while returns to the sick and tells the latter to be happy because his soul is already back in the body and he would get well; with this they hold a drinking feast, and if the sick should die, they never lack excuses to absolve themselves. In these drinking feasts they heat water with which to wash the faces of all present, the healthy and the sick, saying that it prevents sickness and lengthens life.[180]

Generally in these islands the dead[181] are buried without delay, although not all are given the same pomp because the people are [*word not understood*]. They do no more than cover the deceased with a white sheet and bury the body next to their house or field.[182] Later they hold a drinking feast and with this conclude the [ceremony].[183] But the chiefs are covered with the richest silken sheets they have and placed in an incorruptible wooden coffin in which some gold is placed in accordance with the rank of the deceased, and bury him under a house which they have built for the purpose,[184] where all the dead relatives are interred, and enclose the grave with curtains and place a lighted lamp over the grave and food as offerings for the dead, depending on the importance of the deceased; sometimes a man or woman is placed on guard all the time even after three or four years have passed. In some places they kill slaves[185] and bury them with their masters in order to serve them in the after life; this practice is carried out to the extent that many load a ship with more than sixty slaves, fill it up with food and

[180] See p. 403, supra, for description of sacrifice among the Bisayans, and note 43 for citations to other authorities on the subject.

[181] See p. 415, supra, for the mortuary custom of the Bisayans, and note 102, for other descriptions by different authorities.

[182] Plasencia, ibid., 7: 194; Loarca, ibid., 5: 135; Morga, ibid., 16: 133.

[183] Morga, ibid.

[184] Cf. Plasencia, ibid., 7: 194; Chirino, ibid., 12: 303.

[185] Cf. Plasencia, ibid., 7: 195; Chirino, ibid.

drink, place the dead on board, and the entire vessel including the live slaves are buried in the earth. They hold offerings by drinking for more than a month. Others keep the corpse in the house for seven days so that the fluids may flow, and in the interim with all that fetid smell they are drinking without halting. Later they remove the flesh from the bones and throw it to the sea; the bones are then placed in an earthen jar.[186] After a considerable time if they deem fit they bury the jar with all, or if not they leave it in their house. But the most repugnant and horrible thing they do is when, interring the bones, they drink with the bones serving as cups; and this is what they call *batan* to *mariveles*.[187]

There are others who do not bury their dead, but take them to a hill and there hurl them out and then they flee hurriedly because they believe that he who is last [to leave] will die, and for this reason there are few who dare carry them: those who take the risk do so because they pay them well paid for it. When burying the dead they do not pass it through the main door but through a window,[188] and if they do so, close it later and change it to another part [of the house] because they believe that those who pass where the dead has passed would also die. They cry over the dead not only in the house but on the road to the burial place, proclaiming the deeds and virtues of the deceased in a manner more like singing than crying because of the way they wail and raise the voice without tears. In this they purposely obtain the aid of persons who know how to do so and almost are professionals. When a chief dies nobody in that town sings or plays any kind of musical instrument in celebration, not even those who pass aboard ships, under pain of punishment.[189]

Mourning for the dead consists in abstaining from eating rice[190] for the same number of years as prescribed in the dowry,

[186] Morga (B. and R., 16: 133) says in chests.

[187] Probably a colloquialism derived from Bataan and Mariveles (i.e. Corregidor), the distance between the two points serving as a measure of their endurance in their marathon drinking bouts.

[188] This is still observed in many places in Pampanga; M. Garcia was himself a witness to a burial of a relative, recently died, whose body was brought not through the usual exit but through the window in carrying it from the house.

[189] Cf. Chirino, in B. and R., 12: 304; Colin, ibid., 40: 81.

[190] Cf. Loarca, in B. and R., 5: 137. See supra, note 164.

and only by husbands over their wives—the rest are permitted to do so. Depending on how the surviving spouse feels over the death, or a lack of it, the widower if a chief enters a curtain and in four days eats nothing, because it is said that if this is not done he would become crazy. During all this time a priest sings and dances around [the mourner]. If the deceased person have slaves or his parents have them all shave [their heads] in mourning, and all the male relatives do likewise; the parents cut partly their hair, and nobody wears silk or gold ornaments for a long time. The men in some part wear collars, of rattan, and the women on the wrists;[191] they do not bathe or end their mourning until some person is killed;[192] then they remove the collars, hold a solemn drinking feast and end their mourning.

Women who wish to get pregnant breed pigs delicately, giving them to eat food of the most palatable sort available, and from that time on dedicate them for sacrifice at birth to the *anito*. They have so much faith in this that they believe they would make them pregnant which is a thing in particular. During pregnancy the husband[193] does not cut his hair until his wife delivers, in the belief that if he does so the child would not be born, although this belief is not prevalent everywhere but only in some parts.

When the women gives birth, in some places they do not consent to the milling of rice under the house, but far away from it, because they believe that if the rice that falls from the mortar is eaten by chickens the child would die. They hold a *maganito* on childbirth, with all the parents and neighborhood present. They eat with great relish the pig that was delicately raised for this purpose. Everybody rub themselves with its blood, including the child whom they afterwards bathe in water, as well as the mother; and they particularly take care in paying the midwives because they believe that if these are not contented the child would become a cry-baby. The midwives in performing their functions pray to the first midwives in the world—whom they know not—saying: "Oh, first midwife, by your good will, now grant me the favor such that through my help this creature may be born."

[191] Ibid.

[192] Ibid.

[193] According to Colin (B. and R., 40: 78) it is the woman who does not cut off her hair. Cf. San Antonio, ibid., 40: 341.

Every time the chiefs eat, they put a little of everything they eat or drink in small plates on the table as an offering to the *anitos* and the *Molayare*[194] or *Bathala,* creator of all things, and of the rice and of any other new fruit. They do not invite anybody, nor do they consent to [the wearing of] new clothes by others, because they believe that in doing so they are going to be in want of that thing.

They do not allow anything to be eaten where the rice is planted, because they believe that he who does so will either die or turn mad.

When it rains while the sun is shining and the sky is somewhat reddish, they say the *anitos* unite to war on them and they are in great fear; and neither women nor children are allowed to go down their houses until it stops and the sky clears up.

When the earth shakes they say the *anitos* do so, and so they all go about delivering blows to the house and making much noise, saying that with these the *anitos* become scared and stop the earthquake.[195] When they hunt they have as an omen that they would not catch anything by naming something about fishing, and when fishing by naming anything about hunting.[196]

They have many omens when going on land somewhere. In some places, there is a bird colored reddish blue and black which they call *batala*; this name means God, and thus the Indians say this name is improper because they do not have it as God but as an acolyte who with its song makes men understand the will of the same *batala,* which is God; and that is why on going out when they hear the song of this bird they either stop or return or continue with their trip, depending on what they understood from the bird's song.[197] If somebody sneezes, or they hear a lizard's clucking, or if some snake crosses their path,[198] they turn back saying that those are signs that God had sent that it is not His will for them to continue, and that if they proceed some evil would befall them.

[194] See supra, note 171.

[195] This superstition still prevails in many localities; as a young man, M. Garcia witnessed its practice among his old folks in his home town (in Pampanga).

[196] Cf. Colin, in B. and R., 40: 78; San Antonio, ibid., 341.

[197] Cf. Plasencia, in B. and R., 7: 189.

[198] Ibid.

The first day that the new moon appears,[199] they adore it and ask favors: some for much gold, others for much rice, others that they may be given a beautiful wife or a gentlemanly husband who is rich and highly placed, others that they be given health and long life, and finally each one asks what pleases him most.

Going on water by the river or in a boat they pray to the crocodile,[200] asking him to go to the deep and not to frighten nor hurt them as they are not its enemies nor seek its harm but its well-being, and for it to inflict harm to their enemies. They call it grandfather and say it is their parent and other stupidities of this sort. Others offer it food at the river's edge and they take great care in doing this, asking for no more than not to be harmed; and if they are going in a boat and they see it moving in the water, they consider it as a bad omen and halt until another good omen is seen before going ahead.

They believe in dreams, in whether a dream is good or bad: if good, they consider it as a good sign, and if bad as a bad sign; in the latter case, they hold *maganitos,* offerings and prayers to their gods or anitos. They remain sad until an omen signifying some good for them turns up.

Those suffering from deadly herbs or poisons, or those with abscesses or ill with some dangerous disease, are cured with words understood only by those who keep the law of Mohammed in the island of Borney, where they were drawn up. While uttering these words they crush a herb they call *buyo;* those administering the cure have such faith in these words, as well as the sick ones, that it is a marvelous thing to find the patient later getting well just by hearing them.

The oil of the sesame seed which they use for treatment is made by a certain incantation in the manner of a blessing, using Burneyan words which they very carefully guard in order to cure the illnesses described above. They likewise use these words or incantations to make cocks valiant and invincible.

They also use some incantations for their love making, that they might be well loved or that they might not be seen or suspected by their husbands in their courtships, nor by any other person except those whom they want, and for this purpose bring with them the corresponding magic script. They

[199] Ibid., 7: 186.

[200] Ibid., 7: 189; Morga, ibid., 16: 131–132.

use herbs to attract those whom they like and correspondingly use others on those whom they dislike.

They use superstitious names, some in order not to be defeated in wars, others not to be captured, others to make them invincible, others to become fortunate, others that the crocodile may not take them, others to improve their health, others to enjoy long life, others that deadly herbs or poisons may not affect them, and for a thousand other things. These names are [used] with the eyetooth of the crocodile, others with a man-shaped stone, others with an herb they favor, others with the bone or root of a tree. Finally, they utter a thousand and one words in this tone, and in some cases utter incantations in the Burneyan language which they all highly regard. And when building a house, before they put on the roof, they place a scarecrow at the highest part of it so that the owl may not perch on it,[201] because they take it as an omen that those who will live in it will die. And if in the house where they live a swallow or snake should perch or enter,[202] they abandon it or hold a drinking feast or a *maganito* because they fear that they would die if they do not do so.

When they build a ship, at the time they launch it on the water, they shoot an arrow towards the sky or fire an arquebus, saying if they do not do so the banca as they call it would not be light. When making some ship for purposes of trading, they do the same thing when launching it on water and furthermore they hold drinking feasts asking their gods or the *anitos* to make them fortunate and give them much profit in their trade.

Before planting their [*word not understood*] some hold *maganitos,* others make offerings to the *anito* asking that the field be fruitful and that [the harvest] be not lost. Later if the field has either too much or too little water and the rice yield is affected, they turn again to make their *maganitos.*

When they have some war, before going or entering into it, they hold meetings in which they decide on what to do, and join in a general *maganito* to obtain good result. If they return to their towns with prisoners they sing victory songs and hold a

[201] Ibid. These superstitions connected with the building of a house are practically those observed among the Igorots of Lepanto, among others, reported by a modern writer. Robertson, "The Igorots of Lepanto." Phil. Jour. Sci. 9 (1914) 495, 509, 526.

[202] Cf. Colin, in B. and R., 40: 77.

solemn drinking feast; if defeated those left return with great sadness.

When they leave prison, or escape some task, it is common for them to hold drinking feast and offerings to the *anito* or to their god, together with all their relatives and friends with great contentment and rejoicing.

When those they love leave, it is common for the one left behind to promise the one leaving not to eat a certain thing as a sign of love and sadness, or that he would not change clothes or would not wear a certain color or sleep in a certain way, or would not bathe until his return—and almost always the promise is fulfilled.

They have for a custom in this land regarding their marriage[203] for the man to give a dowry to the woman,[204] the opposite of ours; and after giving the dowry to hold a drinking feast. On solemnizing the marriage they unite the pair, making them eat from the same plate, and while eating—or when they are united for this purpose—their parents arrive and wish them many years of life and love for each other. At night, either her mother or some old woman brings the couple to bed where they are made to lie down and are covered with a sheet, as indecent jests are uttered; then the rest go down the house and to the right of the bed of the couple nail a stake, saying that the husband does it to show he is not impotent for copulation. This matter of the stake is not done everywhere, but only in some places. It is likewise customary for the man to give a larger dowry by paying something to each of the nearest relatives of the woman, which is a sort of a bribe for them to consent to the marriage; without this and without dowry, they very rarely marry, because women consider it as a big insult even though they may be of the worst and wretched kind.

In this country they have some brave men whom the Indians call *bayani*,[205] and calling them by this name is made for reason of preeminence or dignity. These place on their heads buffalo horns two palms in length covered by plates of gold. Their job is, as they say, to go dancing from one wedding to another,

[203] The marriage custom as described lengthily by Loarca is in B. and R., 5: 153–161.

[204] Plasencia (B. and R., 7: 183) and Colin (ibid., 40: 39) say that the dowry is given to the woman's parents. Cf. Loarca, ibid., 5: 159. See supra, notes 79 and 82.

[205] Tagalog for "valiant"; it can also mean warrior and champion. Serrano-Laktaw, 118.

such that everybody invites them: the hosts regard it as a distinction and boast about having given a feast to the *bayani*; thus, anybody who can barely afford it gives this feast in order to boast about it, because such feasts are expensive and since rich men are highly regarded and the poor ones are not, the latter try to be known as rich enough to be able to afford a feast for the *bayani*. Those who aspire to give such a feast for the *bayani* believe their god would give them the means for this purpose and that they would be loved by the people.

There are also witches as in Spain and nurses who commit many bad things, and are feared and revered by all who hasten to give them what they want, because of fear. The function of witches everywhere is an honor and there is no use saying here the things they do.

CUSTOMS OF MOROS[206]

The people of this land never had a king and neither did their predecessors. In each town there were three or four chiefs, depending on the size of the town, and those who followed them were their slaves who had the duty to do so, not because they served within their houses, but outside when the chief went to war, when, they went with their arms and food from their houses, and if they went to sea when they went as rowers. They had other obligations which will later be mentioned; only the chief and the free Indians aboard ships do not have to row; likewise if some slave on board had been very brave, the chief made him sit with free Indians, and this is considered by them as a very great honor. Their wars are not conducted by campaigns but by ambushes, dawn attacks and treacheries. They had for body armor a sort of corselet made from buffalo horns which covered their breast and stomach without reaching the navel, and also the same thing at the back; they carry this armor short in order to be able to move lightly and to cover themselves better with their shields—it reaches their chest and measures two and a half palms in width.

They usually wear coats that reach their knees, without sleeves, with plenty of cotton stuffing and well stitched. They usually carry some woven bamboos about a palm [*words not*

[206] See supra, note 117. From the context of this section, there is no doubt that the Tagalogs are meant. In dealing once more with the group, the author appears to be repetitious. However, as the reader will note, it supplements his previous description of the people.

understood] and a cape worn with one turn around. The weapons they carry[207] are shields, as I have said, also lances tipped with iron a palm and three-quarters in width. They carry in the shields proper a large sheathed knife more than three palms long and from three to four fingers wide. These are twisted. They carry this weapon so that in making a charge with the lance they can take hold of this knife and fight with it with their shield for effect. If they board a ship they carry their daggers at the waist, a palm and a half long and four fingers in width. There are also among these Indians some archers, although few, who do not carry any other offensive weapon than their black palm bow with a cord made from a tree bark. They do not carry more than five or six arrows in the hand, because they do not use a quiver and a dagger at the waist. These Indians have some culverins[208] which the Burneyans brought, and some they make on the ground from metal which they founder, and these they carry on ships when going to sea; and when firing them do not aim but place them at the prow and then discharge them.

If they bring back some head[209] they enter the town in great rejoicing and hold drinking feasts for two or three days. All slaves of the chiefs have obligations; these were called *alipe namamahe*[210]; that is, slaves who live by themselves. These have many obligations, such as each slave had to give a large china jar of *quilan*[211] which is derived from the sugarcane—it is a drink they have. Likewise they give so many measures of polished rice. There are other slaves whom they call *tagalos;*[212] some they call *namamahi;*[213] others *aguiguilitl namamahi,*[214] which means an Indian who has a house of his own; and *aguiguilitl*[215] Indian who stays and lives in the house of his master,

[207] Cf. with arms mentioned on p. 407, supra, and note 62. See Morga, in B. and R., 16: 81.

[208] Morga, in B. and R., 16: 82.

[209] Morga (B. and R., 16: 81) says: "They afterwards keep the heads suspended in their houses, where they may be seen; and of these they make a display, in order to be considered as valiant . . ."

[210] Should be *aliping namamahay.* See supra, note 60.

[211] Colin, in B. and R., 40: 65.

[212] to [215] In noting down these social classes, the author appears to be confused, betraying carelessness in his observation. There is no doubt, however, that the *aliping namamahay* and the *aliping sa guiguilir* are meant. *Tagalogs* as a term for slaves is doubtful. Plasencia (B. and R., 7: 173–185) has the most detailed treatise on the social classes of the group.

serves on him day and night, and is fed by him. The master can sell these slaves who live in their houses: none of them is married, all being single; and if a male desires to get married, he is not taken away from the chief, and in this case upon marriage is called *namamahe* who lives by himself. Slaves who live in the house of the chiefs surprisingly are allowed to get married and the males are not disturbed in any way. Slaves who live by themselves have the obligation to equip the ship of their master when he goes out, carry his food, and when their chief holds an obligatory drinking feast, such as when he marries or someone in his family dies or if he is inundated or is made a prisoner or if he becomes sick. On all these occasions big feasts are held, and the slave who lives by himself has to bring a jar of wine, so much rice, and to assist in such feasts. If the chief has no house, these slaves construct one for him at their expense. The master only holds a drinking feast when the posts are cut, another when these are raised, in which all the Indians of the town come to help to lift them.[216] And if some Indian should fall in doing so, they consider it as a bad omen, and cease construction.[217] They hold another feast when the roof is placed, at which all the slaves of the chief attend and cut the wood and do everything needed for the building of the house. For all this, they are given nothing more than food. These slaves who live by themselves give their master as tribute annually one hundred *gantas* of unhusked rice, which ganta had more than a fourth of an *almud*,[218] and of all the seeds they plant. They give their chief a little of everything: if they make *quilan* they give him a jar; if they go hunting for deer, they give him a leg; and if their master was a follower of Mahomet and they reached the deer before the dogs killed it, they bled it with a spear, because that is what the Mohammedan priests have ordered—not to eat the flesh unless it had first been bled. When some of these slaves die, they have these duties: if they have children, the chief would take one to serve him at his house and these are the *aguiguilitl* who live within the house of the chief; and if a free Indian marries a slave woman, or a slave with a free woman, the children are divided in this manner: the first born is free, the next is enslaved, and this order is kept in

[216] The *bayanihan* or the spirit of social helpfulness is seen here.

[217] For other superstitions connected with building a house, see supra, p. 436.

[218] A measure of grain.

dividing as well with the mother as with the father; and of the enslaved children, the chief cannot take more than one in his house; and this is proper only if the father and the mother are slaves. If there be many children, when more are taken for service in the house of the master, they hold this as a grievance and a tyranny, and when leaving the house of the chief to get married, they never return to serve him, except to render the duties of those of the *namamahe*; unless the chief forces them to do so, which they consider as a great tyranny and offense inasmuch as they have been given license to leave their house and then made to return thereto. These customs the slaves have inherited from their predecessors.

An Indian was also made a slave although a freeman when they found him stealing,[219] no matter how small it may be if he was poor and had no one to give him money as penalty; if such an Indian had rich relatives to pay for him, he would become the slave of such relatives;[220] this his relatives do in order not to see him be a slave of others. Likewise if one was found with the wife of another man and was not killed or did not have enough properties to pay the penalty, he was made a slave. If some poor Indian asked for a loan and payment was not made within a certain time, he had to do so at interest as time elapsed; thus the interest accrued. This matter of interest is used up to now when making money loans. I say that with anything they loaned within a given time, two had to be paid back, and after another period without payment four had to be returned; and in this manner the debt would go on increasing until they became slaves.[221] There are many such slaves: because of the debts of the parents the children are taken and made slaves. When some orphan remains without anybody to turn to, the chiefs would enslave him on the excuse that his grandfather owed them something even though it was not so. If the orphan had neither father nor mother, nor uncle or other relative to support him he had to serve the chief as if a slave who had been bought.

When a girl first menstruates,[222] it is their custom to enclose her with mantles and cover the windows, such that where she

[219] This contrasts with Plasencia's statement that they condemned no one to slavery, unless he merited the death penalty. Plasencia, in B. and R., 7: 179.

[220] Cf. ibid.

[221] Cf. ibid.

[222] Cf. Plasencia, in B. and R., 7· 191–192.

is becomes very dark: they cover her eyes and she is not allowed to talk to anybody during all that time except the woman who performs the ceremonies. Thus she stays for four days, if a free woman, or a month and twenty days if of a principal, and eats nothing for four days except two eggs or four mouthfuls of rice in the morning and the same amount at night; and even though somebody talks to her, she does not answer because they say if she does, she would become very talkative. They blindfold the eyes so she may not see anything dishonest which they say if she sees, she would become a bad woman; and if the wind blows on her she would become crazy in the head, and this is the reason she is covered with mantles. Each morning before dawn an Indian carries her blindfold on his shoulder to the river where she is immersed eight times; later she is seated on a chair built on the river above the water which is crowded with many paper and cloth buntings. There they remove the blindfold, and she covers her eyes with her own hands until she is blindfolded again. They carry her on the shoulders and return her to the house and rub her with ointments, with musk or civet and other scents they have.

When the women are pregnant the husbands do not cut their hair, because they say their offspring would be born bald and hairless.[223] Women on their first pregnancy are averse to climbing any house if they are not given upon arriving a little salt or *buyo*; but salt will not be lacking for them to eat there and, they say, if they do not eat it they will have difficulties on giving birth. They have aversion to eat two bananas that are joined one with another or any other food that are two in one, because they believe they will give birth to two creatures from the same womb, to have which they consider as a great insult. They likewise are averse to eating from two upwards from a plate in order not to give birth to many children from one womb.[224] When giving birth they have an enclosure of mantles[225] where they stay for four days, and at the end of four days they heat water and take a bath and bathe their child. These [are the customs] among the chief Indians. The commoners

[223] Cf. p. 433 where author says the husband does not cut off his hair, in the belief that if he does, the child would not be born.

[224] Such beliefs regarding multiple births are still found today among the people.

[225] Apparently for privacy and for no other reason, considering the fact that native houses were often one-room affair.

after giving birth take a bath with warm water, as also their children.

These Indians raise their children with much pampering and do not punish them in any way, much or little, and thus when they grow up do not have any respect toward their fathers. Before, if angered, they take a stick and beat their parents: and if the father is a slave and the son ransoms him, he serves the son as if he were his own slave. They hold the most solemn feast to their god when they want to know something about their wife or husband, father or some other absent person: they set a small altar with red mantles or some other color, and on it place a thistle branch in a jar or cup of water, and in a salt container a little ground salt, a hewed stone of fortune that is flat and on betelnut leaf some chewed *buyo*; they place a large earthen jar with its braces where they throw perfume. On each side of the altar they place a relative of the person about whom they want to know what goes outside. The master of the ceremonies sits down with the feet crossed, with headgear removed, places his hands and prays at the altar; at this, a great silence in the house prevails, because there are many people, and under the house they have placed a sentinel so that neither cat nor dog below may make noise. The master of ceremonies says certain words to a crock containing water which he later sprinkles with a white palm to all [present]. They say that that water removes sins; the master then returns to the altar where he stays for a while, and his body trembles; and when it stops he tells them to look at what is placed on the altar. Those located at the sides then look. If the thistle is withered and the branches fall towards those at the side, and if on looking at the salt container the salt is rent with cracks which lead towards where the relatives are, those at the side say that the person is dead. Consequently, the chewed betelnut must have cracks like the salt, and they reach for the leaf on which it is placed and look at it; and if the leaf is wet, it is a bad omen and they say that this means there would be weaping. And if those lines in the salt and the *buyo* and thistle branches fall towards a different place from where the two Indians are located, they look at those who were married right. Later the owner of that house promises the god to hold a drinking feast in his name, because it is a sign that his god is angry at the owner of the house. If the thistle is not faded, nor the salt with cracks, or the *buyo* has no lines,

they consider it as a good omen. After looking at what is placed on the altar they begin their feast.[226]

When some comet appears they say this meant that some large town would become depopulated, or that some chief would die. When a ring appears around the moon they say this meant the death of some chief. When a lunar eclipse occurs and if some Indian was about to go outside his town to some place, despite its importance, he desisted from going for more than a month and oftentimes not at all. If bad weather occurs while on sea, everybody stripped naked to find out if somebody had a mole in front; in that case, they left him at the floor of the ship; they hanged him if he had the mole at the back. They also held it as an augury if somebody had a whorl in front [of the forehead], and him they placed below decks until good winds prevailed. They also held it as an omen to place the mouth of a jar towards the prow because they said the wind would come direct to the mouth of the jar. Likewise when sailing they have the custom to call the wind from the stern; if somebody calls it from the bow, they quarrel with him and send him away in the belief that the wind comes from the direction from whence it is called.

The people from the highlands of the lake in certain parts carry between the skin and flesh a chaplet of small balls of virgin tar the size of thick chickpeas, and this they do when they are to know a woman; they carry it below the hair between the skin and flesh of the [man's] organ.[227] If some town is ravaged by hunger or pestilence, everybody abandons it and sets fire to the houses until consumed. If some ship is wrecked on some coast, everybody goes to rob it even though it is from their same town; and if strangers, although allies proceeding thereto for trade, they steal from it and enslave everybody specially if they be strangers.

In the same manner, the slave *namanahe,* that is one who lives by himself, if sold by his master is not paid more than two taels of gold; and if he ransoms himself, gives his master eighteen taels of gold or two slaves in his place. The person who buys this slave does so with the duties we have stated

[226] For a discussion of omens and divinations among the Filipinos, see Kroeber, op. cit., 201–205.

[227] Cf. this custom with that of the Bisayans, supra, p. 417, and see note 113.

earlier. In some parts they give their masters in lieu of tribute so many fathoms of land, and this they till and cultivate at their own expense.

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APPENDIX

*Collation of MS.**

[Title from cover] Isla de los Ladrones. Sm. 4to. Ff. 307, 8½" × 6". Collation:

Folios	1–2	blank.
Folio	3	24" x 8", fol. illus. (Manila Galleon off one of the Ladrones islands).
Folio	4	illus. (painting of Ladrones natives).
Folios	5–6	"Relacion de las yslas de los Ladrones."
Folios	7–8	blank.
Folios	9–11	"Discripcion de la tierra de la procy[a]. de cagayan y estado della traje y uso de los naturales y sus constumbres rrios y esteros della es como sigue."
Folios	12–13	blank.
Folios	14(rto.)	illus. (of Negrillos)
Folios	15–17	blank.
Folios	18–22	col. illus. (Zambales natives), with descriptive text.
Folios	23–26	col. illus., double pages (Bisayan men and women)
Folios	27–41	"Constumbres y Usos Serimonias y rritos de Bisayas."
Folios	42–48	"Constumbres y usos de moros de las philipinas yslas del poniente."
Folios	49–50	blank.
Folios	51–58(?)	illus. (5 col. drawings of Tagalos)
Folios	59–64	"Relacion de los rrictos y serimonias gentilesas de los yndios de las yslas philipinas."
Folios	65–68	"Constumbres de moros."
Folios	69–70	blank.
Folios	71–86	description of the Borneans.
Folios	87–90	illus. (2 full-page paintings of Moluccan man and woman), with short descriptive text.
Folios	91–93	description of Javanese natives
Folios	94–95	blank.
Folio	96	illus. (painting of Siamese couple)
Folios	97–99	blank.
Folios	110(rto.)	illus. (Siamese couple)
Folios	101–129	"De Rotero y rrelacion que don joan ribero gayo obispo de Malaca hizo de los cosas de achen para El rrej Nuestro senor."
Folios	130–133	another account of Achin, and Singora and Patani, by Bishop Ribeiro Gaio.

* Deduced from description of Professor Boxer in his "A late sixteenth century Manila MS."

Folios 134–139	description of Siam.
Folios 140–149	"Relacion que Migel rrojo de brito da de la nueva guinea."
Folios 150–151	blank.
Folio 152	illus. (col. drawing of Japanese couple)
Folios 153–154	description of Japan in brief.
Folio 156	illus. (Annamite couple?)
Folio 158	illus. (Annamite couple)
Folio 162	illus. (Indo-Chinese couple)
Folio 166	illus. (man and woman of Yao race)
Folio 170	illus. (man and woman of Formosa)
Folio 174	illus. (odd-looking couple)
Folio 178	illus. (head-hunter and wife)
Folio 182	illus. (another aboriginal couple)
Folio 186	illus. (fantastic-looking couple, from Cambodia?)
Folio 190	ilus. (Malay couple)
Folio 194	illus. (an ill-sorted couple)
Folio 198*	illus. (Manchu Tartar couple)
Folio 199	brief description (4 lines) of preceding.
Folios 200–201	blank.
Folio 202	illus. (Cantonese couple)
Folio 203	blank.
Folio 204	illus. (Sangley couple)
Folio 205	blank.
Folio 206	illus. ("Captain General")
Folio 207	blank.
Folio 208	illus. (Mandarin)
Folio 209	blank.
Folio 210	illus. (Ming prince and consort)
Folio 211	blank.
Folio 212	illus. (por. of Ming Emperor)
Folios 213–239	"Relacion de las cosas de Chine que propiamente se llama taybin."
Folio 240	blank.
Folio 241	explanatory
Folio 242	explanatory text (?)
Folios 243–244	explanatory text (?)
Folios 245–274	illus. (col. drawings of Chinese Taoist deities)
Folios 275–278	explanatory texts of preceding deities.
Folios 279–302	illus. (88 col. drawings of fantastic animals, mythical monsters, etc.)
Folios 303–305	account of the Kingdom of Champa.
Folios 306–307	blank.

* Folios found between colored drawings from folios 156 to 198 are either blank, or contain brief and vague description of illustrations.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Plates 1 to 2. "Cagayanes."
3. "Negrillos."
4 to 6. "Zambales."
7 to 9. "Bisayas."
10 to 11. Unidentified (Probably "Tagalos").
12 to 15. "Naturales (Tagalos)".
16. Reproduction, actual size, of leaf 40 (verso) and leaf 41 (recto) of manuscript, showing illustration (*center*) of artifact mentioned in the text. (See Transcript, page 365–366; Translation, page 417–418.

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PLATE 1.

PLATE 2.

PLATE 3.

PLATE 4.

PLATE 5.

PLATE 6.

PLATE 7.

PLATE 8.

PLATE 9.

PLATE 10.

PLATE 11.

PLATE 12.

PLATE 13.

PLATE 14.

PLATE 15.

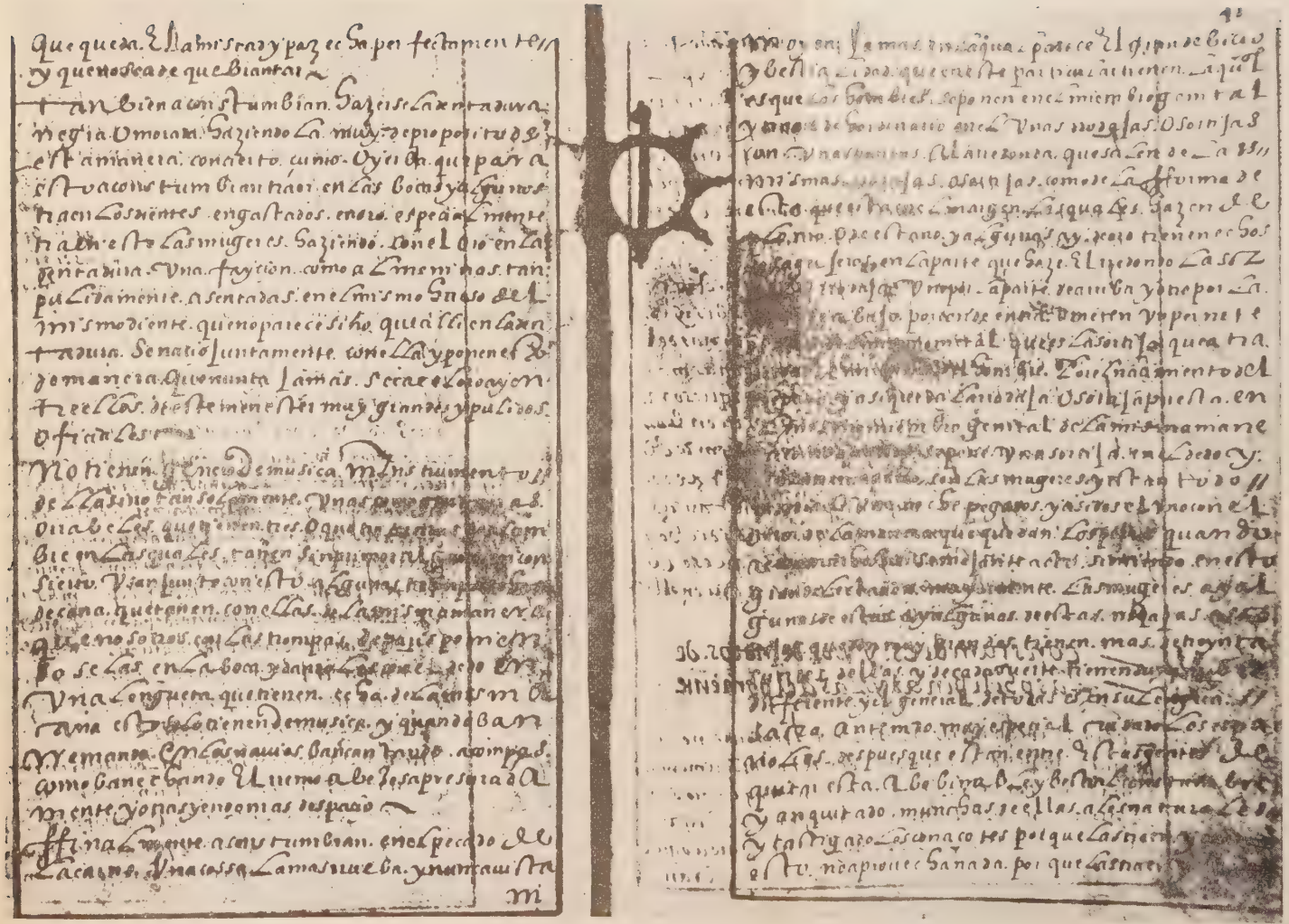

PLATE 16.

CORN AND RICE RITUALS AMONG THE SULOD OF CENTRAL PANAY, PHILIPPINES

By F. Landa Jocano
National Museum, Manila

INTRODUCTION

This paper describes how Sulod rituals, as techniques for interacting with and influencing the supernaturals, are interwoven with the activities of planting and harvesting corn and rice—the two major crops which control the Sulod cycle of ritual practices; and attempts to point out some major sociological functions that these rituals have in the life of the Sulod.[1]

The principle[2] that, in every society, there is some common element of meaning underlying the different ritual contexts supports the limitation of this study to that of corn and rice. The choice appears to be arbitrary; but to cover all of the rituals of Sulod society, or, even to endeavor to include such minor rites as those associated with the cult of the dead, is impossible in a short paper as this. The fact that rice and corn are the staple foods of the Sulod also prompted the limitation to this choice. Almost every waking hour of the Sulod is spent in procuring these mainstays of his economic life. Agricultural activities also include squaring accounts with the spirit-world by performing the necessary rites and ceremonies to win the goodwill of the supernaturals. Thus, a knowledge of the significance of rituals associated with the production of corn and rice is vital in understanding the patterns and contexts of the many other Sulod ceremonies.

The corn and rice rituals herein described are those observed by the pagan Sulod, numbering approximately from 800 to 1,000 and inhabiting the mountain slopes between Bocboc and Siya in Central Panay. Unless specified or otherwise noted, all descriptions and detailed remarks refer specifically to the corn and rice rituals performed by the Sulod living in the

[1] Jocano, F. Landa. The Sulod: a mountain people in Central Panay, Philippines. Philippine Studies 6 (1958) 401–436.

[2] Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. Structure and Function in Primitive Society (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1952) 146–148.

settlements of Buri and Takayan, on the bank of Pan-ay River, and among whom the writer lived from June to October, 1957, and from April to June, 1959.[3]

THE AGRICULTURAL YEAR

The annual agricultural cycle of the Sulod consists of twelve parts which may be called "phases." Each phase corresponds approximately to one month of the Gregorian calendar in duration. Unlike the latter, however, each phase does not have a fixed number of days. Some phases may exceed thirty-one days; others may be less than twenty-seven, the actual number of days being of little importance to the Sulod farmer. He knows that it is *Hulugdapug*[4] when the upland rice is ready for harvesting; that it is *Kapay* when it begins to rain hard, and *Panglut nga Hangud* when the northwind blows and the weather becomes chilly.

Accordingly, the successive phases in the Sulod agricultural cycle are: *Panglut nga Kayut* (November), the time to look for a possible *kaingin*[5] site. In evaluating the potentiality of the site, the Sulod farmer is guided by the kind of vegetation covering the hillside. Areas having mature forest are preferred to those covered by secondary growth. *Panglut nga Hangud* (December) is the phase during which markers are placed around the chosen area. These markers, called *tuus*, show the selector's claim to the site. Actual field work begins in *Ulalong* (January). During this stage, the undergrowth is cut with the *binangun* or working bolo. The undergrowth is then left to dry and later to be burned. In *Dagang-kahuy* (February) the trunks of the large trees are girded with axes, and the dry debris burned. The trees are felled as soon as the branches are free of thick foliage. The remaining trunks

[3] Field work among the Sulod was supported in 1957 and 1959 by grants from the Asia Foundation, and during the last part of the 1959 field study by the National Research Council of the Philippines. Field equipment and other facilities were loaned to the writer by the United States Information Service, Central Philippine University, Mr. Jose Maceda, and Mr. Manuel Santiago.

[4] The Sulod dialect has not yet been phonemicized. The following orthographic conventions, however, are used in this paper: initial and final glottal stops, and variations in stress and length are not indicated; word-medial glottal stop is not marked between vowels but is marked by a hyphen when adjacent to a consonant.

[5] The Sulod term for "shifting agriculture."

are uprooted in *Dagang-bulan* (March). The kaingin will be made ready for planting during the latter part of *Giling*[6] (April). The seeds are usually sowed in *Hinabuyan* (May). The latter phase derived its name from the root *habuy,* meaning "to throw."

Kapay (June) is associated with the beginning of rains. Because of the colder weather at this time, the Sulod wear heavy blankets called *kapay,* hence the name of the phase. During *Kapay,* the fields are cleared of new weeds and underbrush. *Hidapdapun* (July) continues as a weeding time, and fences are constructed around the fields to protect the crop from foraging wild animals. *Lubadlubad* (August) is the period in the Sulod agricultural cycle when the rice starts to head. By this time, too, the people have little or no food; hard times force them to be less hospitable during this period. The descriptive term *lubadlubad* is derived from *lubad,* meaning "to change." *Hulugdapug* (September) is the time to start harvesting the crops. During this phase, the people usually have plenty to eat; thus when cooking, morsels may drop (*hulug*) from the mouth of the pot to the stove or *dapug.* The last phase in the year is *Bagiwbagiw* which corresponds to October, when harvest is in full swing and the people have more than enough to eat so that any left-over during mealtime is allowed to become spoiled or *bagiw;* hence the term *Bagiwbagiw,* meaning "the time of plenty."[7]

CORN AND RICE RITUALS

RITUALS INVOLVED IN THE PROCESS OF CLEARING THE KAINGIN

Panuus[8] *or "marking ritual."*—Before the Sulod attempts to farm a hillside, he first performs the *panuus* or "marking ceremony," an activity designed to notify the environmental spirits of his desire to cultivate the particular area. This is done during the phases *Panglut nga Kayut* and *Panglut nga*

[6] Among the group living in the lower area, like Maniripay, the term is *Kiling* for the same month.

[7] Cf. The Robertson Text and Translation of the Povedano Manuscript of 1572. Edited by E. D. Hester. Univ. of Chicago, Dept. of Anthrop., Philip. Studies Prog., Transcript No. 2 (Chicago, 1954) 44–45.

[8] Derived from the root *tuus,* meaning "mark." *Panuus* literally means "the act of putting the tuus or markers. This ritual is known to those who reside in Takiayan area as *talon,* from *katalonan* or forest.

Hangud. The farmer first secures several *tigbaw* stalks (*Saccharum spontaneum* Linn.) in the evening prior to the date that he has scheduled for finding a good kaingin site. He knots each stalk before going to sleep. The following morning he wakes up before sunrise, takes a good breakfast, and prepares for the task at hand. As he steps out of the door of his dwelling, he cups his right palm and strikes the two ends of the sideposts of the house ladder. Then he pauses, picks up the bundle of knotted stalks, and shouts "haw" at the top of his voice. Descending, he carefully sees that his right foot touches the ground first. From this point onward, the Sulod farmer cannot look back or meet people on the way until he finds the site that he wants to farm. This prohibition is called *lihe.* It is a belief among the Sulod that any one who violates the lihe, even unintentionally, loses his chances of attaining success in his endeavors. Thus the farmer, as he proceeds on his way, avoids the common trails and open ridges where he might be encountered or seen by other people. This is also done in order to avoid meeting the spirits of the hills, who are said to live in an organized world like human socitey and travel along human trails.

As soon as he has chosen a site, the Sulod farmer walks around the area seven times, starting from the right. After completing each cycle, he erects a *tuus* or marker at one of the places where he believes that the forest-spirits will pass in entering the part of the *talun* or forest which he will clear. At the same time, he says:

Gina-tusan ko d'yang talun hay umhun ko. Ti ginapaman-an ko kamo nga tagarugal duun kadya nga suuk.

I am putting these markers around this forest as signs, notifying you who are living here of my desire to cultivate the area.

Following this, he returns home and waits "for the answer of the forest-spirits." If after three days, the farmer finds himself in a bouyant mood, he schedules the date for clearing the hillside, as this indicates that the forest-spirits have approved his plans. On the other hand, if he feels ill-at-ease with whatever activity he tries to perform on the third day, he abandons the place and looks for another. The forest-spirits do not want him to farm the area!

[9] Derived from the root *tabe,* meaning "excuse or pardon." Hence *panabe-tabe* literally means "to ask for an excuse or to be excused."

Panabe-tabe[9] *or "pre-clearing ritual."*—When the scheduled date for clearing the chosen site arrives, usually in *Ulalong* (January), the Sulod farmer goes back to his marked hillside. Again, he circles the site seven times, and, after the seventh round, proceeds into the middle of the forest, knots a vine and, in a loud voice, addresses the forest-spirits:

Tabe-tabe du kaninyo nga mga tagarugal hay umpisahan ko ruy paguma kadyang talon.	Excuse me, you who are living here for I will start clearing the area.

Then he goes home and waits for another three days, during which time he carefully notes his good and bad dreams.[10] If his good dreams outnumbered his bad ones it is certain that the forest-spirits are in his favor; otherwise, he looks for another site. Even if his dreams were good, the Sulod does not immediately begin to cut the trees and undergrowth. He allows another three days to pass, consulting the stars. If for three consecutive nights the sky is clear and starry, he revisits the site on the fourth day and rounds it seven times. Then after the seventh round, he goes into the middle of the site, bringing with him *udyong* stalks [*Miscanthus floridulus* (Labill.) Warb.] a wild grass. Inside, he clears a space about four meters long. He steps into the middle of this little clearing and, squatting, cuts the udyong stalks into several parts. Then he closes his eyes, makes a wish and counts the chopped stalks. If his wish is odd and the udyong stalks are even the site is abandoned for the forest-spirits have changed their minds; but if the number coincides with his wish, he knows that the forest-spirits will permit him to cultivate the area. He returns home and immediately notifies the *baylan* or medium to perform the *tadag* "or clearing ritual."

Tadag[11] *or "clearing ritual."*—As soon as the baylan has been notified, the farmer schedules the date for the performance of the ceremony. He prepares all the paraphernalia needed. The main purpose of the *tadag* is to communicate with the forest-spirits in order to secure their final approval of the farmer's intention to cultivate the chosen hillside.

It must be noted that at this point of the rite, the focus of "spiritual attention" is shifted from the forest-spirits to the

[10] This practice is also observed by the Christian farmers living in barrio Wright, Tapaz, Capiz; and in barrio Agkalaga, Calinog, Iloilo.

[11] The word *tadag* literally means "to explore."

soul-spirits of the Sulod ascendants which are considered intercessors with other Sulod supernaturals. These soul-spirits are the ones honored with food-offering rites because it is believed that by satisfying them, these will be bribed into interceding with the forest-spirits in favor of the Sulod farmer.[12]

At the scheduled date and time of the performance of the tadag ceremony, the farmer and the *manugtadag* [13] go into the forest together, bringing along with them the food for the soul-spirits. The manugtadag walks ahead, followed by the farmer who carries the basket of food. As they proceed around the area the officiant picks handfuls of food from the basket and throws them around, at the same time calling to the spirits to partake of the food:

. . . *Haw Berden, Kapudong* . . . (he enumerates many more names) *rugya run ang pagkaun ginatau ni* . . (he mentions the farmer's name) . . . *kaninyo. Ti magpaumwar du kamo pasilabu.*	. . . Haw Berden, Kapudong . . . (he enumerates many more names) here is the food which . . . (he mentions the farmer's name) is giving you to eat. Leave the forest now and tell the others to allow him to cultivate the area.

The manugtadag repeats this invitation over and over again as they walk around. On the seventh round, he bids the farmer to wait for him outside the forest while he proceeds into the middle. The clearing of the area depends upon what the manugtadag says after he has "communicated" directly with the *tagarugal,* the "forest-spirits living in the particular area."

RITUALS INVOLVED IN PLANTING AND HARVESTING CORN

Panudlak [14] *or "planting ritual."*—Corn can be planted in the cleared area only after the ceremony called *panudlak* is performed. To perform this, the Sulod farmer erects several *tuus* (markers) in different places around his field on the evening of the day prior to planting. Then he secures several *tagbag* stalks (*Alpinia haenkei* Presl) a wild grass full of trichomes,

[12] This shift of attention from the forest-spirits to the "soul-spirits" is also observed in other ceremonies where food-offering is involved. Henceforth, the use of food in the ceremonies described throughout this paper is an indication of the shift which will no longer be noted.

[13] The baylan who performs the *tadag* ceremony.

[14] From the word *tudlak,* meaning "to start"; hence *panudlak* literally means "the time to start."

from the grooves growing near a spring or riverbank. He knots the *tagbak* stalks at night and places them inside the basket containing the corn seeds. In the following morning, before the chickens leave their roosts, he gets up, eats his breakfast, and carries the basket of the seed-corn to the field. He places this in the middle of the kaingin and erects the knotted *tagbak* stalks around it. This done, he goes out of the field, looks for seven large stones, returns, and makes seven small holes, about one step apart in the ground. He places one stone near each hole. Taking a handful of corn seeds from the basket, he drops three or four seeds into the first hole and covers it by scrapping the upturned soil back into the hole with his right foot. He steps over it, pauses, faces the east, and shouts at the top of his voice:

Haw! mga himata sa liwan, paayda mais ko. . .

Oh you forest-spirits living in this field, let my corn bring forth abundant yield.

He repeats this entreaty as he steps on each hole. After having filled the seven holes, he returns home and calls for his wife and children to help him plant the field.

Bari[15] *or "pre-harvest ritual."*—When the corn plants are about a foot high, the unburned branches and shrubs are gathered and removed from the field. This activity is called *duruk*. The Sulod believe that unless the scattered branches are removed, the corn plants will not grow big and tall. Fences are next constructed around the kaingin to protect the crops from the wild animals.

When the grains on the kernel turn milky in color the farmer performs the *bari* ceremony. In doing this, he first goes around the field on the evening prior to the performance of the ritual. In the folowing morning, before the sun has risen and before any member of his family has awaken, he returns alone to the field. Reaching there, he proceeds into the middle, picks three ears of young corn, ties them together, and hangs them on the biggest corn stalks. After he has done this, he goes home, bringing along with him several choice ears. He roasts these. It is a universal belief among the Sulod that this kind of cooking hastens the ripening of the other fruit. To protect the field from domestic animals, the dogs are not given even a single grain of corn; the kernels

[15] Meaning "to break or cut."

of the first cooked ears are burned and the embers are soaked in the *kabu*.[16] Each member of the family drinks from this cup, since it is believed that the water, in which the embers are soaked, has a protective power against the forest-spirits.

Ubud or "harvesting ritual."—Prior to harvesting the farmer performs the *ubud* ritual. Early in the day, an improvised bamboo table called *papag* is built in the center of the field. Later, at home the farmer kills a chicken with gray feathers, cooks some white rice, prepares four *pungko* (bamboo "glasses") of tuba,[17] one *pungko* of water, and four *sangkap*, a complete set of *maram-un* or chewing ingredients consisting of areca nut, *buyo* (betel leaves), lime and tobacco. He takes these materials to the field late in the afternoon.

At about dusk[18] the farmer covers the bamboo table with banana leaves and scrapes four ladlefuls of rice from the pot. He places these in the center of the *papag*. The chicken, which has been cooked whole by boiling, is placed near the mounds of rice. The four *pungko* of *tuba* and the four *sangkap* or *maram-un* are placed at the corners of the table. The farmer then invites the spirits "to eat the food prepared for them."

Panaw run kamo rugya kag mag-kaon. Kabay pa nga ipaumwad ninyo mais ko.	Come now, all of you and partake of this food. Please make my corn yield abundantly.

The entire crop is harvested after the performance of the ritual.

RITUALS INVOLVED IN PLANTING AND HARVESTING RICE

Paminhi[19] *or "planting ritual."*—The field is prepared for planting rice immediately after the corn has been harvested. Old fences are removed and the sides of the kaingin are cleaned. As soon as the field is ready, the farmer prepares the materials for the *paminhi*. For three days before the performance of the ritual, he does not work; he stays at home and awaits signs from his spirit-friends. If on the third day he receives no unfavorable warning from the forest-spirits, he brings the materials that he needs to the field late in the

[16] A drinking cup made of coconut shell.

[17] Fermented sap from coconut inflorescence.

[18] Writer noted 6 o'clock p.m. by his watch.

[19] From the root *binhi*, meaning "seedlings." Hence *paminhi* literally means "preparing the seedlings."

evening. These are: a basket of rice seedlings, a branch of *bugnay* (*Antidesma bunius* L.) which has fruits; sugar cane stalks; a branch of *bungloy* [*Dysoxylum decandrum* (Blco.) Merr.] with ripe fruits; a bunch of areca nuts; a type of wooden spear called *signa-ngat; tanglad* [*Cymbopogon citratus* (DC) Stapf.] stalks; metal money; an egg from a favorite hen; and water in a bamboo tube. In the field, he places the paraphernalia, except the tube of water, inside the basket of rice. Then he returns home and sleeps. Should he have a restless night or bad dreams, he allows another three days to pass before revisiting the field, or else he abandons the kaingin, for by this sign the forest-spirits indicate that they have changed their minds about letting him cultivate the hillside. On the other hand, if he has a peaceful night or good dreams, he wakes up early in the following morning and, after eating his breakfast, returns to the field.

In the field, the farmer does not immediately perform the ritual. He waits until the dew on the leaves of the trees and grasses is gone. Then he brings the ritual materials to one of the corners of the kaingin. Facing the east, he closes his eyes and takes seven grains of rice from the basket. He dips these into the water, opens his eyes, takes seven steps forward and drops the grains into the hole he made in the ground by the use of the *tagad*[20] or planting stick. He steps on top of this hole and addresses the spirits of the field:

Haw Sinaulog—haw, Berden, Kapudong, Hunaway, paminhi nga mamag-an; bugayi ang panguma ko sa lupa.

Oh Sinaulog—Oh Berden, Kapudong, Hunaway, make these seedlings bear good fruits; grace my field with abundant yield.

After the ceremony, he goes home and invites several neighbors to help him plant his field. The custom of helping a neighbor without pay is known as *tangkuris, dagyaw, patawili* and *tabang*. The clearing is kept clean after it has been planted. Grasses and shrubs growing around the clearing are scraped off and burned. New fences are constructed to keep wild animals away.[21]

[20] Also known as *tara-tara*.

[21] Sulod residents of the Takayan River valley seldom fence their fields, absolute faith on the protective powers of the ancestral deities being the rule.

Handugan[22] *or "caring ritual."*—If no bad signs are observed when rice is growing the belief is that the *diwata* of the forest have been pleased. On the other hand, should the leaves of the plant turn yellowish or white spots appear on the stalks, the belief is that the *diwata* are demanding an offering called *hinandugan*. When this happens, the Sulod farmer calls for the baylan and asks that a ceremony be celebrated. *Hinandugan* is one of the agricultural rituals which involve the attendance of almost every farmer in the area. An improvised altar made from branches of trees and *bulo* (*Schizostachyum lumampao* Blanco) is constructed in the middle of the field. The baylan goes around the field seven times, starting from the right. Every time he reaches a place he suspects to be the trail used by the diwata in entering into the field, he knots seven rice stalks and ties to each a piece of black cloth. He does this up to the sixth round, and, on the seventh, he erects seven *bagakay* (*Schizostachyum lima* Blanco) poles in seven strategic places around the kaingin. He ties a piece of red cloth on top of each pole and departs to a nearby forest to consult the diwata. He stays there for a few hours and upon his return, asks the farmer to prepare the following things; three chickens with red feathers; thirty pieces of *sinamug;* thirty pieces of *puso;* thirty pieces of *bayudbud* or *duyanduyan,*[23] a jar of *pangasi* or rice wine; a small pot or *anglet*; a bunch of *bika* [*Ampelocissus ochracea* (T. B.), Merr.]; and a *kararaw* or bamboo basket.[24]

As the farmer prepares these things the baylan again departs. No one knows where he goes and no one dares inquire. When this writer, while doing his field work among the Sulod living in Buri in 1957, tried to inquire, he was warned not to ask for the medium's whereabouts or "something unfortunate" would happen to him. During the period when the baylan is gone, the farmer, as well as the members of his family, cannot do any hard work. He cannot even talk to strangers. This period of inactivity is called *pakuro*. When carrying the materials needed for the ceremony to the hut in the field, the farmer cannot look back or spit on the ground. He must retrace his steps from the house if he is returning from the field and vice-versa.

[22] Derived from the root, *handug*, meaning "to offer." Hence, *hinandugan* literally means "the act of offering" or "one to whom the offering is given."

[23] *Sinamug, puso, bagudbud* and *duyan-duyan* are sweetened rice cakes.

[24] Made of bamboo splints about 2½ inches deep.

As soon as the baylan returns, the chickens are brought to the field and, early in the day, tied to the post of the altar. In the afternoon these are butchered and the posts of the altar are smeared with blood. The carcasses are scalded and picked; the entrails and legs are placed on top of the altar; and the cleaned meats are brought to the house to be cooked. During the performance of the ceremony the members of the farmer's family are not allowed to leave the house.

Two men are called to assist the baylan—one of them to beat the gong and the other the drum. The ceremony opens with the baylan sitting before an altar, imploring the help of the soul-spirits. After a while, he stands up and dances before the altar, shaking from head to foot. He chants the ceremonial prayer:

Ayyy babaylan Burakunun, ay Bubuadnun, ay Lunukun, ay Lukanun, amanughubo nga sindang, manugliton nga babaylan, panglitunon mo'y nagadinunan basi sanda bumalus, basi magbauba sanda sa inumhan, magbalus sa siningkapan, hinkapay sumandak, inumha'y sumalubay, ku bagani ikaw nga sindang, kaisug ikaw babaylan, panglitunon mo'y mga himyaw, panghubuun mo'y tumawo; kon talayhang manimanhaw, kon bangkayaw burulakaw; anunaw kamo sa butang ko, lungay sa diiyang ko. Sungilin kamo magabalus indi magbauba, magpalagungun kamo sa dasag ko, palantang sa daiyang ko, magpabusogbusog, magpagutokgutok magpanalipu kamo sa hugpan, pamugo kamo ka hayupan, hayupan ka kahimyaw, hugpan ka mga tumawo, bungkayaw burulakaw, talayhang manimanhaw, basi kamo magbalus, basi magbauba.

Ayyy babaylan Burakunun, ay Bubuadnun, ay Lunukun, ay Lukanun, soul-spirits, intercessors, speakers for the babaylan, inform those who travel the vilage, speak to those who are playing in the place, they might retaliate, they might cause harm to those who work in the farm; retaliate to our families, cause misfortunes to our relatives, cause our crops to fail; that you are the informer, the strength of the babaylan, intercede for us to the higher spirits, inform them to harm us no more because we farmed this place, tell them to chain their *tumawo*, the *talayhang, manimanhaw, bangkayaw burulakaw.* Behold, O spirits, the food I am placing here—these are my offering. But please do not cause us further misfortunes; do not get angry. Instead, feast on my offerings; partake of what I have here, have more than enough, eat until you are full. Then I beseech you, clear your houses, gather all your pets, and also those who live in the forest; *talayhang, manimanhaw, bangkayaw*—pets of the *tumawo*—you might cause us more misfortunes.

At about midnight the baylan stops dancing. He takes a pinch of food from every prepared plate and throws them toward the field, repeating the *pangagda* or invitation. At the wee hours of the morning, the baylan drops into a trance, saying after he regains consciousness that he had been communicating with the spirits of the fields and that everything will be all right. This ends the ceremony and the food is left in the field for the spirits.

Tugalbung ritual.—Should the handugan fail to bring favorable results, another ceremony, the *tugalbung* [25] is performed. The things used for this rice ritual are: twenty *puso;* twenty *alupi* and *puso* is carried to the house while the other half structed near the field, usually on the eastern side. The chicken is butchered inside the hut and its head is buried in the ground while the legs are placed on top of the altar. One half of the *alupi* and *puso* is carried to the house while the other half is left in the hut in the field.

As the *baylan* buries the head of the chicken, he chants:

. . . *Tuhawa sa nagalubung, tuo sa nagatugalbung, nagalaala kami ka mga balabaw nga kutkutanon; indi du pagbabuyon, pagamuon, di pagbalabawun, indi bukanon, indi pagmayahon, magpagipi lang, magpakimsug, magpanalipo ka hugpan, pamugo ka hayupan, indi pagbalabawun, hay ginaala-ala ko'y nagabanwa, ginagalang ko'y gadinunan, basi pagbaubaun, pintasan ninyo'y inumhan, buslon tinigkapan; hay ginataba, ginatagabili, ginasugabli namo't pada, ginabakal namo't bulwan, indi do ninyo pagbuhian, indi pagbutatakan, magkauya lang kamo kag magpakahiris.*

. . . Behold the one who buries this offering, have faith to one who buries these! We are acknowledging the power of the lord of pests; let not the pigs, the monkeys, the rats, the worms, the *mayas* (*Lonchura* spp.) devour our crops. Help our plants to grow more stalks, instead. And let them be heavy with grains, too. Ensnare your pets; keep them away. Do not let loose the rats because we are acknowledging your power over the place; you might harm our farms, then our families; we are buying the whole place, we are acquiring it, we are paying you all in silver, we are buying it with gold, do not let them loose—be considerate and understanding.

[25] Meaning "to bury."

[26] *Alupi* and *puso* are sweetened rice cakes, the former wrapped rectangular, the latter, in the shape of a heart.

After the ceremony, which lasts for one night, the food is left in the field for the diwata to partake.

Luy-ahan[27] or *"preharvest ritual."*—When the rice is ready for harvest, the farmer performs another ceremony for the soul-spirits, the intercessors for the good harvest. He kills a pig, bleeds several heads of chickens, and cooks a pot of white rice. These are carried to the field and sorted near the *tabigan,* a place in the middle of the field where the farmer starts harvesting. Slices of *lauya* (boiled pork) and several ladlefuls of *binakul* (chopped drumsticks, breasts, and entrails of the chickens cooked in a bamboo node) are placed in an old Ming plate beside two platefuls of rice. Four *pungko* (bamboo "glasses") of tuba and two *pungko* of water are also placed near the offering. Before the farmer leaves the food, he calls out:

Magakusi ako ka uma ko. Ti tanan diwata magatambung. Amo man ang mga kalag hay ako magapaani.

I will start harvesting my field. So all the diwata please come, and also the "souls" of the departed because I will start harvesting my crops.

He goes home after this invocation. Three days later, he returns and walks around the field seven times. Each time he makes a cycle, he knots a handful of rice stalks and ties them with a piece of black cloth containing seven slices of *luy-a* (ginger) and seven slices of *kalawag.*[28]

After having performed this, the Sulod farmer returns home, taking extra care that he does not spit on the ground, talk to any one, or turn his head back. He revisits his field three days later, this time carrying with him a bamboo cross,[29] two strips of black and red cloth, and a *tabig.*[30]

Next, he cuts a handful of ripening heads from the right side of the field, ties these to a *bagakay* pole and sticks the pole in the ground as a mark indicating the *surudlan,* the place where one enters and leaves the field. From this point, the farmer enters the field and, upon reaching the center, erects the bamboo cross and ties to it the knotted piece of red and

[27] Derived from the root *luy-a* meaning ginger. Literally therefore, *luy-ahan* means "to apply ginger."

[28] A gingerlike plant with yellow tubers.

[29] The use of the cross is an indication of Christian influence.

[30] A basket about two feet high.

black cloth containing slices of *luy-a* and *kalawag*. Then he chants at the top of his voice:

Ginabutang ko dagiya ang krus bilang tanda nga kon sin-o ang magsubul kang akon tuus kag mapatay, waay ako't labut.

I am placing this cross as a sign that whoever violates the mark—and dies, I don't have any responsibility whatsoever.

This done, the farmer goes out of the field by way of the *surudlan*, picks up his tabig, and returns inside. He cuts seven stalks of rice, bites his harvesting knife after that, and murmuring a prayer to the diwata of the crops, ties the stalks into bundles. As soon as the basket is full he places his harvesting knife on top of it and leaves without saying a word. Another three days are allowed to pass, before he returns to the field and harvests his crops.

An offering is given to the soul-spirits before threshing is done. The farmer kills a chicken, wraps the cooked entrails with the bark of a tree, and places it near the *tar-is* (a basket containing the first threshed grains), saying:

Kaon kamo mga umalagad hay ako ta gapakaon kaninyo. Pamuara ay paraw kong ginalinas. Indi pagsudlan, tagawhang, magapaamwar kamo pasilabu.

Eat you all spirits of the field, partake of the food that I am offering you and give grace to the field that it may yield more. Do not let the evil spirits enter, drive them all away.

The threshed grains are winnowed with the *kararaw*. The winnowing separates the chaff from the grains. Some of the threshed palay is roasted in a *karaha* or frying pan, and pounded in a *lusong* or wooden mortar. Ordinarily the pounding is done by one or two persons; three or four persons, however, can do it quicker in a rhythm of 1–2–3 or 1–2–3–4. Pounding is done twice. The first pounding (*luma*) eliminates as many husks as possible. This is followed by the *tahup* or winnowing. The second pounding (*puy-as*) eliminates practically all the husks. Again the grains are winnowed. To separate further the clean rice from the unhusked grains, these are placed in the kararaw and shaken methodically, and then shifted to another kararaw. This activity is known as *disig* and skill is required to do it.

The cleaned rice is cooked and another chicken is butchered and prepared by boiling. Part of this rice and chicken is given to the soul-spirits; the remainder is given to the laborers.

This ceremony called *daga* is the final phase of the rice rituals. The food is placed near the *tar-is* and the owner invokes the aid of the soul-spirits to give them good harvest:

Ginuo ikaw magapaamwad kaamong paray hay ginapangayo namon kag ginaihawan ka't manok. Haw—Berden, Agak Kapudong, Tawohon, Eskida, Andul, Pahina, Kanto, Aryano—(here follows a litany of names of all the departed ancestors)—*panaw kamo dugiya kag magkaon.*

Sir, grace us with more returns, we beseech you. And as evidence of our sincerity, we offer you this chicken. Haw—Berden, Agak, Kapudong, Eskida, Andul, Pahina, Kanto, Aryano—(Here follows a litany of names of all the departed ancestors)—come and partake of the food.

After the daga ceremony, the palay is taken to the house of the farmer. This is dried and stored in big baskets called *tabungus;* sometimes it is put inside old bamboo water tubes called *sag-ub.*

SOCIOLOGICAL FUNCTIONS [31] OF THE SULOD CORN AND RICE RITUALS

1. In the small Sulod community, as elsewhere, food is the most important factor that conditions the state of relationship among the people. When food is plentiful everyone is hospitable and the community is full of life. It is time for intensified social and religious activities. However, when food is scarce, especially during the month of June to the early part of August, the people have less preoccupations; in fact, every individual tends to regard one another with meanness. Even within the family, disharmony may prevail, especially when its head has more than one wife under his roof. In other words, the whole community enjoys when there is food, but suffers when food is scarce.

Since corn and rice are the staple food of the Sulod, the efforts and care taken to produce them are understandable. Without any technological means to control such occurrences as rice pests, floods, and others, the Sulod is impotent to deal with such natural events unless he devises some techniques with which to overcome them. In lieu of such technological means, however, he has his traditions from which he could draw ma-

[31] Cf. Radclife-Brown, A. R., Andaman Islanders (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1948); Sapiro, Melford L., Amer. Anthrop. No. 4 54 (1952); Merton, Robert, Social Theory and Social Functions (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1949).

terials necessary to develop these techniques for solving his problems. These traditions inherently include squaring accounts with the spirit-world and involve the performance of elaborate rites. So as not to jeopardize his relationship with the spirits, the Sulod farmer accepts these traditions, the efficacy of which has been proven by the past experiences of his ancestors and the observance of which has been acknowledged by every member of his community as effective means in procuring food. Having no means of controlling or minimizing the hazards of Nature which daily surround his economic life, and aware of the fact that the spirits would cause harm to his crops, unless he obtains their favor, he has no other recourse but to follow the practices of his community. Thus, before planting and harvesting his crops, the Sulod farmer performs elaborate rites in order to gain the blessings and good will of the spirits upon whose whims depend the success or failure of his crops and ultimately the survival of his own family. The corn and rice rituals of the Sulod, therefore, serve as culturally-sanctioned techniques for obtaining food and as reinforcing mechanisms that link social sentiments to traditional customs.

2. The dominance and pervasive influence of traditional religion is the most striking characteristic feature of the Sulod society. Underlying this religion are the beliefs in the existence of a myriad of environmental spirits which are either benevolent or malevolent, and in the survival of the "soul" which retains the mortal character and life of the dead in the next world. These spirits exercise direct control over the affairs of the living. Thus every activity undertaken, be it in agriculture, hunting, and others, falls under the influence of the unseen spirits that inhabit the surrounding boulders, forests, streams, and springs. Every precaution is taken by the Sulod not to displease these spirits; but everything is done within his power to please these with appropriate religious sacrifices, rites, and other ceremonies with the intervention of the *baylan* (medium) whose authority is claimed to have been derived from ancient times.

In like manner, the belief in the survival of the "soul" is expressed in many elaborate rites directed toward the veneration of departed ancestors. As time passes, the "soul," which is believed to enjoy an extended life in the next world, is deified and attributed with power and rank, is included in the *saragudon*, the pantheon of the supernaturals, and is invoked in various ceremonials as an intercessor with the higher divinities. Thus much

of the Sulod ceremonial and non-ceremonial life is concerned or preoccupied with the *saragudon.*

The invocation of the departed ancestor in every corn and rice ritual, as noted above, tends to strengthen union and kinship in the community. It draws an individual closer to its other members to whom he considers himself related by common descent. In this way, corn and rice rituals, in serving as periodic occasions for calling upon the departed ancestors, become indispensable instruments that weld together historical traditions, beliefs, and customs. Through these rites group solidarity is sustained, social euphoria maintained, and interpersonal relationship made much easier as a result of the belief that every member of the community is the blood relation of another. Corn and rice rituals also provide both the individual and the group with a consistent body of culturally-sanctioned practices which validate existing traditions. Without these rituals which continually keep the Sulod aware of the necessity of following these traditions (e.g. religious practices), the people would be hard put to explain why they believe and behave as they do.

3. The frequent reference to the ancestral spirits during the performances of the various corn and rice rituals similarly affords the Sulod a verbal outlet for his emotional anxiety arising from fear of the environmental spirits that control his daily activities. In the face of crucial life crises, man not only turn to his kinsmen but also to other unseen power or powers for assistance. This implies the necessity of relating his actions to behavior patterns and beliefs which his culture recognizes as valid. To the Sulod, the corn and rice rituals, such as are performed throughout the agricultural cycle, are culturally sanctioned practices with which he justifies his activities without losing face before his fellowmen. As the failure or success of his crops does not depend upon his skill as a farmer, but upon the whims of the controlling spirits, the blame for such failure or credit for its success cannot be laid on him. In this way, his self-confidence is assured for the "spirits" are his scapegoats; his self-respect is also maintained, because, in case of his failure, an "infraction of supernatural prohibition" and not his efficiency as a farmer is accepted by the group to be the cause of such failure.

His success is also attributed to the workings of the spirits, vouchsafing the efficiency of the rituals and affirming the effi-

cacy of his traditional beliefs. On this level, therefore, the disintegrative pressure of anxiety and fear on the Sulod personality is minimized, and a corresponding reinforcement on the individual's personal and social equilibrium is achieved. Corn and rice rituals likewise supply the Sulod with an unbending conviction and firm belief in his power to succeed. They enable him to perform his daily activities with confidence and to maintain his poise in the face of difficulties that tend to demoralize him. Corn and rice rituals, therefore, function in the Sulod society as defense-mechanisms, as means of satisfying the ego-processes, and as a character of Sulod social and moral values. They reinforce his individual and group life, unify his social relationship, integrate and weld together Sulod customs and historical traditions, prevent the collapse of the Sulod personality, and enhance the persistence of his society.

THE TAGALOG PARTICLE NA[1]

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INTRODUCTION

There are two homophonous *na* particles in Tagalog. One is the enclitic particle of time *na*, which indicates a ripe situation: *na* 'already, now, more'; e.g., *tayo na* 'let's go now', *binigyan na* 'given already,' *wala na* 'no more'. This *na* contrasts directly with the other enclitic particle of time *pa*, which indicates a situation that is unripe:[2] *pa* 'yet; still'; e.g., *hindi pa* 'not yet', *natutulog pa* 'still sleeping'.

The other one is a syntactic relation particle and is used to mark an endocentric attributive type of construction. Examples:

batang matapang 'brave child'
ang bahay na binili mo 'the house that you bought'
ang dating paniwalang ang mundo'y lapad 'the old belief that the world is flat'

This paper will be confined to the syntactic relation particle *na*. The writer prefers the traditional term 'ligature'. Henceforth this term will be used to describe this particle throughout this paper.

THE LIGATURE *NA*

The writer finds a need for clarification in two areas of the traditional theory of this ligature: the morphophonemic variants of *na* and *na* as a relative pronoun.

A. The traditional theory:

1. *Na* as a ligature

[1] Thanks are due to Dr. Howard P. McKaughan, Mr. Francis B. Dawson and Mr. Richard Roe of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, to Dr. Cecilio Lopez of the University of the Philippines, and to Dr. Rufino Alejandro of the Institute of National Language for invaluable help received in the writing of this article.

[2] The temporal subordinating clause connector *nang* in *nang siya ay dumating* 'when he arrived' functions differently from the *na* under discussion. Although *nang* is also a temporal indicator it does not indicate the same time relationship as the enclitic particles *na* and *pa*.

The Balarila classifies *na* as a ligature conjunction. As such, the function of *na* is "to harmonize or relate the following phrase to a preceding one, to secure fluency of pronunciation, and to show the relationship of the mutual complementary connection between two ideas." [3]

2. On the morphophonemic variants of *na*

The Balarila further states that the ligature *na* has two variants, namely, *-ng* and *-g;* that *na* is used when the word preceding has a consonant final except *n;* that *-ng* is joined to the word preceding with a vowel final; and that *-g* is joined to the word preceding with *n* final.[4]

3. *Na* as a relative pronoun

The same Balarila states that aside from its function as a ligature *na* is "that form of ligature that frequently and clearly functions as a relative pronoun."[5]

B. Restatement of the theory in the light of modern linguistics:

1. *Na* as a ligature

Technically, the ligature *na* is an empty morpheme. Charles C. Fries would call it a function word inasmuch as it does not carry with it any lexical meaning, deriving its significance only from the particular structural meaning it signals in the grammatical construction in which it occurs.[6]

2. On the morphophonemic variant of *na*

In the light of modern linguistic science, the ligature *na* has only one morphophonemic variant, *-ng*. The traditional theory that another variant of *na* is *-g*, which is joined to words with *n* finals, is a misinterpretation of facts.

The ligature *na* follows words with consonant finals except /n/ and the glottal stop/ʔ/.[7] Examples:

mabait *na* batà
malalim *na* balon

[3] Balarila ng Wikang Pambansa. Manila (1950) 442. Translated by the writer.

[4] Ibid., 95. Summarized and translated by the writer.

[5] Ibid., 227. Translated by the writer.

[6] Fries, Charles C. The Structure of English. New York (1952) 106–108.

[7] The glottal stop represented here by /ʔ/, is indicated in the Balarila with the grave accent (ˋ).

Now, the variant *-ng* is joined not only to words with vowel finals as in:

aso + na + matapang > aso*ng* matapang

but also replaces /ʔ/ and /*n*/ finals of words as in:

bataʔ + na + mabait > bata*ng* mabait
hangin + na + malakas > hangi*ng* malakas

In the above example *bataʔ*, *-ʔ* + *na* is replaced by *-ng*. In *hangin*, the *-n* + *na* is replaced by + *ng*.

It may be asked, "Why is it incorrect to merely join the *-g* with the final *n* in *hangin* instead of replacing the *-n* final with *-ng?*" The technical explanation is this: in the Tagalog phonemic system, the variant *-ng* represents only one phoneme, the velar nasal /ŋ/, though traditionally written in two letters, *n* and *g*.[8] Whereas if we join the *-g* with the *-n* final in *hangin,* there will be two distinct sounds—the alveolar nasal sound /*n*/[9] and the voiced velar stop sound /g/.[10] From the phonetic point of view, it is incorrect to interpret the final *-ng,* as in the word *hanging,* as two distinct sounds.

3. On the claim that *na*, in certain contexts, functions as a relative pronoun.

[8] In the Tagalog phonemic system, the sound of the velar nasal /ŋ/ is produced at the velum and it passes through the nasal passage rather than through the mouth, e.g., -ng /ŋ/ as in gula*ng* /gulaŋ/, *ng*alan /ŋalan/.

[9] The sound of the alveolar nasal /n/ is produced by the tip of the tongue touching the alveolar arch thus stopping the air in the mouth and since the velum is opened the air escapes through the nasal passage, as in nati*n* /nati*n*/.

[10] The sound of the voiced velar stop /g/ is produced with the back of the tonque touching the velum thus stopping the air. Then the air is suddenly released with a slight explosive outburst accompanied by the vibration of the vocal chords, that is, when /g/ occurs in the initial and medial positions as in gugol /gugol/. But when /g/ occurs in the final position, "the air is unreleased and at the same time the sound is rapidly devoiced" as in bihag /bihag/. The quoted part is from Robert Stockwell, A Contrastive Analysis of English and Tagalog, Univ. of California, Los Angeles (1958) B–25.

The Balarila gives the bare statement that *na* is a form of ligature that frequently functions as a relative pronoun.[11] The Balarila does not furnish a basis for this statement.

However, one acquainted with the English (and the Spanish) grammar will have no difficulty in determining the probable reason behind the statement. It is because when a certain so-called complex sentence in Tagalog using *na* is translated into English, *na* appears to be the equivalent of the English relative pronoun *who,* or *which,* or *that* (and, in Spanish, of *que, el cual,* etc.).

In the traditional English grammar, the words *who, whom, which* and *that* are classified as relative pronouns in constructions like:

The boy *who* came is my nephew.
The boy *whom* you saw is my nephew.
The boy *whose* book you borrowed is my nephew.
The book *which* (or *that*) you borrowed belongs to my nephew.

Note that each relative pronoun construction in English is rendered by *na* construction in Tagalog:

Ang bata*ng* dumating ay pamangkin ko.
Ang bata*ng* nakita mo ay pamangkin ko.
Ang bata*ng* hiniraman mo ng aklat ay pamangkin ko.
Ang aklat *na* hiniram mo ay sa pamangkin ko.

The English *who, whom, which* and *whose,* which function as relative pronouns, are also interrogative pronouns. As such, their Tagalog equivalents are, respectively, *sino, kanino* (e.g., To whom did you give it?) *alin* and *kanino.* But these Tagalog question words never function as relative pronouns in Tagalog sentence constructions. The English *that,* on the other hand, is both a demonstrative pronoun and an adjective, and it can also function as a relative pronoun. The Tagalog equivalent of the demonstrative *that* is *iyon* (or *iyan*). *Iyon* (or *iyan*) never functions as a relative pronoun. It is clear, therefore, that Tagalog has no need for relative pronouns inasmuch as a completely different type of syntactical relation construction is used where a relative pronoun is used in English, and that construction is the *na* construction.

Charles Hockett expresses a view which in a manner of speaking is very much akin to the traditional theory on relative

[11] Balarila, 227.

pronouns. *That* in *The man that I saw* [12] is to Hockett a relative. So is *that* in *The man that usually sits here . . .* [13] In both instances, *that* is an integral part of the clause in which it occurs, it being the topic of the clause and the object of the verb in the first instance and the subject of the verb in the second.

Yet this view of Hockett cannot be applied to the Tagalog *na* in *Ang bahay na binili mo ay sira-sirâ* (The house that you bought is dilapidated) of the Balarila.[14] Here *na* is not an integral part of the clause (for there is no clause) and is therefore not the subject nor the object of the verb *binili.* The function of *na* merely as a ligature stands out prominently, joining as it does the head of the construction *bahay* to the attribute *binili mo.* Hence, to say that *na* is equivalent to the English *that, who, which, whom* is both misleading and incorrect.

In constructions where *that* stands outside the clause and therefore is not an integral part of it, as in *The fact that she is sick . . .*,[15] Hockett calls *that* a conjunction, its function being, according to him, to mark the relationship of the clause to the other material. In other words, *that* here is not an integral part of the clause (neither the subject nor the object of the verb). It simply marks the relationship of *she is sick* to *the fact.*

Although this theory appears to apply to the Tagalog *na* in a similar construction (*Ang katunayan na siya'y may sakit . . .*), the distinction need not be applied in this case. The character of *na* as a ligature is not in the least affected by the formal aspect of the attribute that follows it, inasmuch as the idea of attribution may be expressed in a single word, in a phrase or in a clause.[16]

[12] Hockett, Charles F. A Course in Modern Linguistics. New York (1958) 194.

[13] Hockett, Charles F. Ibid.

[14] Balarila, 227.

[15] Hockett, Charles F. Op. cit., 194.

[16] The writer did not discuss in this paper another type of syntactical relation indicated by the ligature *na*—the appositive subtype of coordinate construction; e.g., *Haring Pedro* (King Pedro). Here *Hari* or *Pedro* can serve as head of the construction. Each can function as the attribute of the other. In English, this type of construction usually occurs with no particle intervening. Bloomfield calls this type of apposition *close* apposition. It is readily noticeable that wherever the ligature *na* occurs, it marks an attributive relationship.

SUMMARY

1. The ligature *na* has only one morphophonemic variant *-ng* /ŋ/.

2. The ligature *na* or its variant *-ng* remains a ligature and does not become a relative pronoun even in contexts where a head is joined to its attribute which may be either a word, a phrase or a clause. The syntactical relation between the head and the attributive phrase or clause construction in Tagalog indicated by the ligature *na,* becomes, in English translation, a syntactical relation between the antecedent and a relative clause introduced by a relative pronoun or where such pronoun functions as a conjunction in the structure.

ERRATA

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Page 3, line 8, *filter* for *fiter*.
Page 31, line 21, *heat* for *leaf*.
Page 33, line 5 from bottom, *same* for *sane*.
Page 143, line 8, (*1*) for (*5*).
Page 145, line 1 from bottom, (*2*) for (*5*).
Page 146, line 6, (*2*) for (*5*).
Page 147, line 8, (*1*) for (*6*).
Page 174, line 4 from bottom, *burning* for *buring*.
Page 255, line 4, *1873* for *1878*.
Page 257, line 7, (*1955*) for (*1950*).
Page 273, No. 56, *stroma* for *soma*.
Page 291, line 4, *cyst* for *syst*.
Page 308, line 13, *out* for *our*.

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[New names and new combinations are printed in italics.]

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